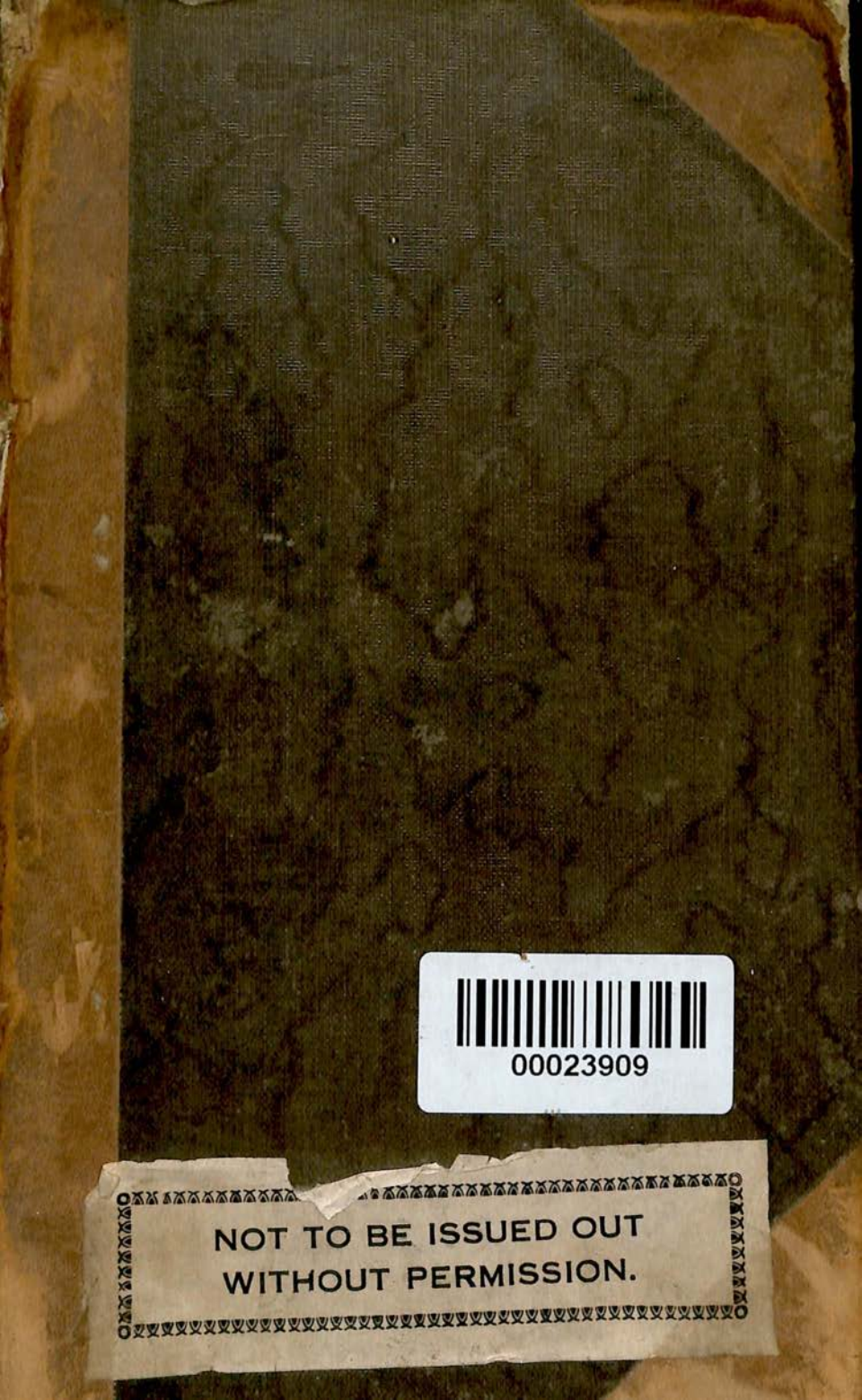

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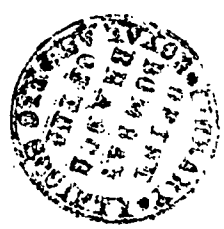
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THE STORY

OF THE

LIFE OF PIUS IX.



Cristoni Fratelli Giuseppe e Gaetano

16 Giugno 1846

Iddio Benedetto che umilia ed inalza ha voluto sollevare la mia miseria alla più sublime dignità che sia in questa terra sia sempre fatta la sua santissima volontà

Conosco in qualche maniera la gravità quasi immensa di tanto incarico e conosco egualmente la mia povertà per non dire la vera nullità del mio spirito. Fate pregare e pregate per me. Il conclave ha avuto 48 ore di durata.

Se il comune di Sinigaglia volesse fare qualche spesa per dare dimostrazioni fatelo in modo anzi voglio che la somma da prendersi sia tutta erogata in cose utili per la città a giudizio del gonfaloniere ed anziani.

Riguardo a voi cari fratelli vi abbraccio tutti di cuore in Gesù Cristo e lungi dall'esultare compassionate il vostro fratello che da la tutti l'Apostolica Benedizione

Pio. IX.

THE STORY

OF THE

LIFE OF PIUS THE NINTH.

23909 a.c

BY

T. ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY AND SON,

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PREFACE.

SINCE the following pages were completed, a rumour has been current that Pius the Ninth has for some time past been engaged in writing his own biography. It is somewhat difficult to imagine how he can find time for any such occupation, in addition to the very numerous avocations, to which almost all his hours are known to be allotted, and which have assuredly not been diminished in number and in calls upon his time and energies of late. With all assistance of zealous amanuenses, and other co-operation, however, it may be that His Holiness has been able to do, what all our knowledge of the character of the man would lead us to think he would very much like to do. It would be quite in accordance with his passion for occupying a foremost place in the attention of his contemporaries, and in

the eyes of the world, that he should desire to leave such a record. And it is impossible to doubt that such a bit of autobiography would be extremely interesting. In certain respects, it might also be historically valuable. But, as regards the outer world, it is only the future historian who is at all likely to profit by it. It is hardly to be supposed that any such production will be made public during the lifetime of the present generation.

As regards the present volumes, it will be seen that the object of the writer has been to give an account of the public rather than of the private life of Pius the Ninth; and to set forth the character of the man in accordance with the light thrown upon it by his public conduct, and with reference to such portions of it as have been influential in making that conduct what it has been. It has seemed to the writer that this is what it mainly imports the world to know. But it would be disingenuous to affect, that such an opinion has been the only reason why the more private and intimate details, with which a biographer may be expected to gratify the curiosity of his readers, have been withheld. They have been withheld because the present writer has no means of giving such with a consciousness of their

truth and authenticity. Very few persons have such means at their disposition. And it may be with perfect safety assumed, that no one of those few will place their information at the disposition of the public.

Plenty of writings have already been given to the public, whose authors—some adulators, and some detractors—have striven to attract the attention of the world by seasoning their pages abundantly with such anecdotic matter. But the narrations of such adulators and detractors may be pronounced to be alike wholly untrustworthy. Nay, the perusal of these works is sufficient, I think I may say in every case, to assure the judicious reader that they are so. The unctuous relations of those who have been striving to prepare the groundwork for the future canonization of him whom they profess to consider already a saint, are abundantly characterised by all the well-known marks of pious fiction. And the hatred generated by political events, passions, and partizanship, has not scrupled to blacken its object by calumny of the grossest nature, which none save those who partake of that hatred will for an instant doubt to be such.

That which I have represented the Pope as doing

he unquestionably did. That which I have represented him as feeling and thinking has been inferred from the entire tenor of his authentic actions; and no pretence has been made of basing such appreciation on any other grounds. The reader can control the justice of the deductions for himself. I have striven honestly to estimate both the Pope and the man, fairly and with due reference to the circumstances in which he has been placed.

But Pius the Ninth is still alive. And though not by any means in the enjoyment of such health and vigour as many a man of his age, he may yet live several years. He comes of a remarkably long-lived family; and perhaps physicians may deem that a surer guarantee for length of days than an unfailingly robust health. In the meantime it may be affirmed that there is exceedingly little probability that anything should be henceforward said or done by him to modify our appreciation of his character, or the general significance of his career.

It may perhaps be mentioned here, in connection with what has been said in the foregoing sentence, that the great majority of the statements which have recently from time to time been circulated in the newspapers of various countries, as to supposed

acts of the Pope with reference to the coming Conclave and to the election of his successor, are utterly baseless inventions, and indicate that their inventors are entirely ignorant of ecclesiastical matters and Church history. A more recent statement, however, to the effect that the Pope has prepared, and will leave behind him, a Bull dispensing with the canonical delay of nine days, which should elapse between the death of the Pope and the entry of the Cardinals into Conclave, does not attribute anything to His Holiness which it is not perfectly competent to him to do, nor anything which it is at all unlikely that he has done. The news, however, is most likely very stale. For the probability is that such a Bull was prepared shortly, if not immediately, after the entry of the Italian troops into Rome. It may be observed, however, that such a dispensing Bull would be merely permissive, and that it does not at all follow that it would be acted on.

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THE STORY OF THE LIFE OF PIUS IX.

BOOK I.

FROM HIS BIRTH ON THE 13TH MAY, 1792, TO HIS ELECTION ON THE 17TH JUNE, 1846.

FIFTY-FOUR YEARS.



CHAPTER I.

SINIGAGLIA.—THE MASTAI FAMILY.—BAPTISMAL REGISTER OF PIUS.—SCHOOLBOY DAYS AT VOLTERRA.—THE YOUNG MASTAI AT HOME.—STORIES OF HIS YOUTH TO BE REJECTED.—THE POPE'S FOSTER-SISTER.—AMBITION TO OBTAIN A COMMISSION IN THE "GUARDIA NOBILE."—INDICATIONS OF TEMPERAMENT AND CHARACTER.—DISAPPOINTMENT.—CONSOLATION.

It is proposed to give here the history of Pius the Ninth, the Pope, and not that of Giovanni Mastai, the man. Nothing would ever have been heard of Mastai beyond the limits of his native province, had he not been forced against his wishes into the ecclesiastical career, by having been pronounced unfitted for that of arms. It will be expedient, therefore, to pass rapidly over the first fifty-four years of his life. It could hardly occur that a similar course should be adopted in any biography save that of a Pope. Nor would it, even, be probable as regards the biography of any other Pope.

The fifty-four years of life, of which a very summary account has to be offered to the reader in this first book of our story, comprise all the active period of the vast majority of human lives. In the case of most men, that portion of their career which can interest the world in general, is over by the time the interesting part of this man's life commences! And so entirely is this the fact, that one might begin the story to be told with the day which turned Giovanni Mastai into Pius the Ninth, as many of his biographers have done, were it not that the old saw of the child being father to the man, is true even in the case of a Pope. In no other case have human arrangements been able to cut off one portion of a life from the antecedent portion so completely. But no holiest oil, or hands, or form of words can, any more than the Horatian "fork," so expel the native Adam, as that it shall not colour, even if it fail to govern, the whole subsequent life.

It will behove us, therefore, to get such a conception, as may be attainable, of what manner of man this Giovanni Mastai was.

A traveller, speeding along the rail which carries him southwards from Bologna, along the shore of the Adriatic, towards far-distant Brindisi, passes, a

little before reaching Ancona—flying by in an unregardful manner, if he be in an express train—the little station of Sinigaglia, and the mouth of a miserable little stream coming down from the neighbouring Apennine, called the Misa. A miserable little stream, I have called it, because in truth all the streams, that after a short course pour the waters of the Apennines into the Adriatic along this part of the coast, are such; at one moment pernicious torrents, at another dry and hideous expanses of sand and gravel. The little town itself is as unsatisfactory a town as its stream is a river. Nevertheless, some few years ago the name of it was famous throughout Italy, and, in some degree, in neighbouring lands, by reason of the great annual fair held there—the largest in all the South. At the period of the fair, a temporary town of wooden booths and lodging-places was erected by the side of the permanent one. The importance of this fair, as of all others such, has of late years become very much diminished. But there is the wide extent of barren space, on the banks of the Misa, where the fair was held, and is so as far as it remains, which perhaps may be pointed out to the stranger as the train dashes by. Also he can see from the window

the huge building of the Capuchin convent, an explanatory commentary on the unprogressive barbarism of the district. For that is the character of this region; and even yet to the traveller leaving Lombardy or Tuscany behind him, his course across the "Apostolical dominions" affords a lesson, which he that runs even by rail cannot miss reading, of the results of papal sovereignty.

Here on the Adriatic coast, in this remote portion of the papal territory, dwelt the forefathers of the present Pope. The name of the family was originally Mastai; and, descended, as report says, from a maker of combs who came from the north of Italy to settle there, they were previously to the close of the 17th century, not noble. The Mastai race were, however, as we are told, of the active, pushing, energetic kind of those who rise in the world. And the marriage of one Gian-Maria Mastai with an Anconitan heiress of the name of Ferretti, gave him, together with fortune, a second name to add to his own, and the title of Count. Shortly afterwards, Girolamo Mastai-Ferretti married Catherine, a daughter of the Sollazzi family, who was, we are told, a tall, handsome, and excellent woman. Of this marriage, Gian-Maria Mastai-

Ferretti was born on the 13th of May, 1792, the second of a numerous family. Since much doubt has prevailed respecting the Pope's age, as well as for the sake of a correct statement of his names, it may be worth while to give the following authentic extract from the register of the church at Sinigaglia :

"I, undersigned, Vicar perpetual of the noble cathedral, and parish church of St. Peter the Apostle, at Sinigaglia, certify the following extract. Sunday, 13th May, 1792. The *Illustrissimo* Signore Giovanni, Maria, Gianbattista, Pietro, Pellegrino, Isidoro, son of the noble Count Girolamo Mastai-Ferretti and of the Countess Catherine Sollazzi his wife, was baptised by the most Rev. Canon Don Andrea Mastai. Hieronima Moroni was godmother. He was born the same day, at forty-five minutes past one in the morning.

(Signed) "PIÉTRO VENTURINI,
"Vicar Perpetual."

The Andrew above-mentioned, and who became afterwards Bishop of Pesaro, was the child's uncle Another uncle was a canon of St. Peter's, at Rome.

At twelve years old, the young Mastai was sent

to a school at Volterra, under the direction of the well-known astronomer Inghirami, a member of the Order of Scolopi. The fact indicates the liberalism of his parents; for Volterra is in Tuscany, and the Scolopi, engaged in instruction also at Florence, were among the most liberal of the clergy. The mere fact of sending a child out of the Roman States into Tuscany to be educated, was in those days an unmistakable indication of liberalism.

It is not often that much can be learned of the schoolboy days of an old man between eighty and ninety, to whom no special attention was called till he was fifty-four. But it so happens that the present writer was intimately acquainted with one who was the young Mastai's schoolfellow at Volterra—the Commendatore Peruzzi, uncle of the present syndic of Florence. The remembrance which this old gentleman retained of his schoolfellow was perfect; but was not favourable. The fault he was constantly wont, when speaking of his recollections of those schoolboy days, to attribute to the young Mastai, was untruthfulness. "He was," declared the old Commendatore, "the greatest liar in the school!" Other accounts of his school-days, which I have reason to believe to represent at all events

the genuine recollections of the narrators, represent him as an idle lad, whose want of application was excused on the score of his weak health, but who never manifested any talent whatever.

Others have recorded also that he was very much of an invalid during those school-years. He had from very early youth been liable to those epileptic seizures, which, though attacking him in a very much less degree, have never altogether quitted him. And he was altogether weakly, and little fitted for companionship with boys of his own age. When he left the school, in 1808, in his sixteenth year, he had learned, we are told, a little Latin and no Greek; and probably the same might have been said of every one of his schoolfellows. It is added, however, that he had formed a taste for reading the poets, and wrote verses of his own which were not discreditable to him. "His mind," says a writer, speaking of that period, "had taken a romantic turn, which, aided by a temperament of excessive nervous mobility, gave him the character of a vividly impressionable and enthusiastic youth." And here is the account which a recent biographer* gives of him at the period of his

* Petrucelli della Gattina; to whom I leave all responsibility for the accuracy of his statements.

life immediately following his school-days: "So he came back to Sinigaglia. That town was at that time a part of the kingdom of Italy (*i.e.*, Napoleon's kingdom of Italy). The period was one of enthusiasm for Napoleon, for soldiers, and for military ideas. Young Mastai sang "The Battle of Dresden," and caused himself to be inscribed on the roll of those Freemasons* whom he subsequently anathematised. He lived among soldiers, with his eyes constantly bent on the epaulettes. Thenceforward he began to give himself an education more in conformity with his birth† and his wishes. He took to the study of

* It has constantly been asserted and as constantly denied, that the young Mastai was a mason. It is exceedingly probable, considering the complexion of the times, and the liberalising tendencies of his then surroundings, that he did become a member of the order. Nor is there the slightest reason for deeming it any ground of censure, that he should have done so; or for thinking that it is *on that ground more* a matter of blame, that he should subsequently have looked at the matter from a papal point of view.

† The education he had been receiving was in no wise other than "in conformity with his birth." His family were small, provincial, by no means wealthy nobles. And the only careers open to him, as the cadet of such a family, in the then condition of things, were those of the Church; of a half-starved idle hanger-on to the head of the family; arms; or some almost equally half-starved small subaltern government employment. And the old prejudices, which caused this condition of things, are still working manifold evil throughout the whole social body of Italy, especially in the central and southern parts of the peninsula.

arms; he rode much; he studied music, and played the flute and the violoncello; then, ambitious of leading a barrack life, he became a notable adept at colouring a pipe, emptying a bottle at a draught, and became passionately fond of billiards and tennis. These amusements improved his health. He adopted a style of costume half civil half military, with a dash of the barber's apprentice in it, but supremely elegant, after the fashion of a provincial dandy. He wore a grey frock with black cuffs and collar, a red foraging cap, pantaloons with stripes down the seams, large shirt-collars turned down over his shoulders, with a red cravat flying in the wind; spurs, a flower in his button-hole, and a cigar always in his mouth."

The whole of this description is probable enough. The young provincial dandy was very far, at that time, from dreaming of the Church as a profession. And it is certain that he was looking forward to a military career. Many of his biographers relate that he was enrolled in the Garde d'Honneur of Napoleon; that he served in the 1st squadron of the 1st Regiment. Others have said that he took service with Austria; and others, again, coming nearer the mark, that he was a member of the Guardia

Nobile of Pius the Seventh. The probability is, however, that all these statements are devoid of foundation.

The author of the personal description above quoted, who, though an Italian, writes in the French language and in a very markedly French spirit and style, goes on to relate, at great length and with much detail, a number of stories of a scandalous description, referring not only to the period of Mastai's life now under consideration, but to times long subsequent to his ordination, and even to his consecration as a bishop, the whole of which may be put aside as utterly apocryphal, and unworthy of credit or attention. The same author goes much further even than this, and insinuates, if he does not absolutely assert, with regard to Mastai's life from about his nineteenth to about* his twenty-fourth year, that a course of very gross profligacy, culminating in crimes of a very revolting and degrading character, led him to the determination to drown himself in the Tiber; from carrying which determination into execution he was prevented only by the chance interference of his friend the advocate,

* Signor Petrucelli does not trouble himself much with precise dates.

Signor Cattabene,* "at the present day Counsellor of the Court of Appeal of Ancona—*the same man who has given me all these details so precise, and of so private a nature.*"

I can but repeat, however, that the best information I have been able to obtain upon the subject leads me to warn the reader against accepting any of these stories as historical.

One anecdote which belongs to this period, and to which Signor Petrucelli refers in a manner that imparts a probably unfounded calumnious significance to it, may be mentioned, not only because it is true, but because it belongs not only to the far past, but, unfortunately, to the present days also. The young Mastai had a foster-sister, a Signorina Morandi. He fell in love with her, and his passion was reciprocated. She was married, however (perhaps by the influence of the Mastai family) to a Signor Ambrogi, a singer. These circumstances,

* Careful inquiries have confirmed me in the belief that despite this apparent authenticity of reference, no credit is to be attached to any of the more scandalous particulars of these stories. I find that there was, perhaps still is, a gentleman of the name mentioned, in the position assigned to him. Signor Petrucelli calls him "a friend of the infancy" of Pius. But he must have been very considerably his junior.

thus divested of the discreditable features attributed to them by Signor Petrucelli, are true. And it is also true that this foster-sister, the aged widow of the singer Ambrogi, is now living in dire distress and poverty at Florence, dependent on charity for her daily bread; but not on the charity of Pius the Ninth. To all the petitions in which the unfortunate old woman has attempted to awaken some pity for her forlorn age by recalling the memory of past days to the Pontiff, she has never received any single word of reply! She persistently maintains that it is wholly impossible that such treatment should be meted out to her by Giovanni Mastai, although he wear the threefold crown. She believes that her supplications have all been prevented from reaching her old love by those about him. And it may be that such is the case; but it may be, on the other hand, that the poor old lady does not sufficiently appreciate all the changes operated in a human being by the wearing of that awful tiara.

Passing by all the crowd of anecdotes, one half indicative of extreme profligacy, and the other half of especial sanctity of heart and manners, which are related by anti-papal and papal biographers, as based all of them on mere gossip, unverified, and now un-

verifiable, it will be sufficient to state that young Mastai certainly came to Rome with the hope of obtaining a commission in the Pope's Noble Guard. He certainly had at that time conceived no idea of taking Orders; and it is of course probable that his mode of life and habits were those of a young officer rather than those of a young priest. He had obtained the placing of his name on the roll of candidates for a commission, and was awaiting the vacancy that should admit him to the object of his ambition, when he was one day picked up from the gutter of one of the thoroughfares of Rome! The cruel malady, which had persecuted him from childhood, still pursued him; and this public proof of the fact led to a declaration by the commandant of the corps in question that the young Mastai could not be received into it.

This is said, doubtless with truth, to have been a very severe blow to him. The Noble Guard of Pius the Seventh, as re-established on the Pope's recovery of his throne at the liberation of Europe from Napoleon, and the French revolution, was not likely to reap much military glory, or indeed ever to smell the burning of powder on any other occasion than that of a salute. But their uniform was a

very showy one; and we shall run small risk of forming an erroneous judgment, if we believe that this was the aspect of military life that fired the ambition of the young Mastai. A sort of almost feminine fondness for personal display, glitter, and exhibition, may be traced in the Pope's idiosyncrasy, and in many incidents of his career, which illustrate this tone of character. And the insatiable craving for admiration and applause, which is perhaps the most strongly marked of all the elements that compose it, is readily recognisable as another phase of the same temperament.

The malady which rendered Mastai unfit to be enrolled as a member of the Pope's pacific body-guard, rendered him at least equally unfit, according to all the canons of the Church, to receive Holy Orders. But the unfitness in the one case could be set aside, or disregarded; in the other it could not! Pius the Seventh, who was a native of Cesena on the same Adriatic coast, was, we are told, in some small degree, related to Mastai. We have seen already that he had two uncles living at Rome, and belonging to the aristocracy of the Church, one a bishop, the other a canon of St. Peter's. The rejected candidate for a commission in the Noble

Guard carried his disappointment to the foot of the throne of Christ's Vicar, and was comforted. Mother Church was willing to accept him, if none other would! Dispensations got rid of all canonical difficulties; and the future Pope received his first orders as sub-deacon on the 18th of December, 1818; and, by virtue of more dispensations, his full priest's orders immediately afterwards, on condition that he should never celebrate mass, save with another priest at his elbow, to prevent the possibility of sacrilege happening to the sacred elements in consequence of an epileptic attack seizing him at the moment of his taking them into his hands.

The writer of a recent French biography of Pius the Ninth, M. Villefranche, relates that he was subsequently relieved from this condition, at his petition, by Pius the Seventh, who said to him: "Yes! we grant you this favour also, the more readily that we believe this cruel malady will torment you no more."

On which M. Villefranche remarks: "Had Pius the Seventh at that moment an illumination from on high? Did he know the destiny of the humble priest then kneeling before him? Anyhow, the

fact is that his prediction was realised, and that the malady completely disappeared."

It is difficult to suppose that the biographer was ignorant of the fact that the malady in question has never "disappeared" from that day to this.

CHAPTER II.

CONTRADICTORY ESTIMATES.—"MISSION" AT SINIGAGLIA.—MELODRAMATIC PREACHING.—CLERICAL PRIMO TENORE.—HOSPITAL OF TATA GIOVANNI.—APPOINTMENT TO A CANONICATE.—CIRCUMSTANCES OF LEAVING THE PRESIDENCE OF THE HOSPITAL.—MISSION TO SOUTH AMERICA.—THE TRUTH RESPECTING THE APPOINTMENT OF MASTAI AS SECRETARY TO THE MISSION.—SINGULAR MEETING WITH CARDINAL LAMBRUSCHINI AT GENOA.—THE VOYAGE OF THE "ELOISA."—IMPRISONMENT IN SPAIN.—IMMINENT DANGER OF SHIPWRECK.—CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH CAUSED THE FAILURE OF THE MISSION.—HARDSHIPS AND MISFORTUNES IN SOUTH AMERICA.—A SACRILEGIOUS TOAD.—ANECDOTE OF MASTAI AS A WAG.—RETURN TO ROME.

THE biographer of Pius the Ninth, who would fain write in no partisan spirit, but would strive to represent the man and his life as they really are and have been, meets with a difficulty, to be found, it may be presumed, in all such attempts; but rarely, as may well be believed, in a similarly excessive degree. The materials before him are abundant indeed; exist truly in such masses, that any pre-

tence of having examined them all would be an insincerity, at once rejected by those who have any acquaintance whatever with the subject. But among the thousands of statements* which have been put forth by more or less well informed persons, there are very few indeed which are available for comparison with each other, for controlling each other, for guiding the seeker of truth into that *via media,* in which it is doubtless to be found. The innumerable writers upon the subject may be divided into two categories: one, of those who represent the Pontiff to have been a worthless profligate in youth, a cruel tyrant in his manhood's prime, and heartless, selfish, weak and false in his old age; the other, of those who assure the world that the angelic virtues which adorn his saintly character have been surpassed, and hardly surpassed, by Him only whose Vicar on earth he is!

As might be expected, those who have attempted to push their inquiries so far back as the days before the Church claimed him for her own, have belonged mainly to the former category. Those of the latter

* As regards the man himself, and his character, I mean, of course—not as to public events; although in many cases, even these are the subject of very contradictory accounts.

interest themselves less with the man than with the priest; and, if any available information should go to show that the miracle of suddenly turning a very bad man into a very good one was accomplished by the laying on of episcopal hands, the fact would not be unacceptable to them. To a certain degree, and as regards matters in reality superficial, the facts of the case seem to favour such a view.

I have endeavoured to separate what is probably true from what is almost certainly false, in the unfavourable accounts given of Giovanni Mastai's life as a young man. It must be remembered, however, that the world in the midst of which he lived was a very grossly profligate one; and he certainly lived the life of one who expected to become shortly an officer in a do-nothing show regiment, and not the life of one who was preparing to be a priest, even as priests were in those days in Rome. But it is certain that it has been the general opinion of those most in a position to be well informed on the subject, that the ecclesiastical career of Pius the Ninth as Bishop, Archbishop, and Cardinal, was not in any special degree stained by any of those classes of vice which are generally deemed to be more pardonable in a layman than in a priest. Despite all positive

statements to the contrary, he seems, some human failings apart, to have lived decently as a priest from the time that he became such.

He said his first mass in the church of St. Anna de' Falegnami on Easter Sunday, 1819, being then twenty-six years old. He had, however, before this been engaged in the work of the ministry, having been attached in the capacity of catechist to a "mission"* held in his own native province. Of course we are assured that his evangelising labours were attended with the most wonderful results, and that the heart of his pious mother was flooded with holy joy at seeing her so recently somewhat graceless son thus distinguishing himself. But I think that, if it had been my duty to arrange the itineraries

* The practice of holding "missions," or special preachings and spiritual ministrations by priests who are strangers to the district in which the mission is held, is, as practised by the Roman Catholic Church, very similar to that of holding "revivals" practised by the Methodists. The object sought is the same—that of exciting emotional religious sentiment; and the means used are the same—the eloquence of trained preachers *other* than those to whom the hearers are accustomed. The effects are not the same, being less pernicious in the Roman Church, in consequence of the Roman priest aiming at and contenting himself with certain exterior practices, and in consequence of the material he has to work on being mainly minds devoid and incapable of any devotional depth of feeling.

of the missions of that year, I should not have selected Sinigaglia as the most appropriate field of action for the young gentleman, who had so recently been familiarly known in its streets, with that red foraging cap and scarlet neck-handkerchief flying in the wind, and the cigar eternally in his mouth!

Nevertheless, we are told that his success as a missionary was enormous; and stories are told of the melodramatic devices to which he had recourse to heighten the effects produced in the pulpit by his handsome person, his magnificent voice, and his eloquence; how the effects of light and shade were managed, the former concentrated on his own pale and handsome face, the rest of the church in almost total darkness! How he would set up a skull with a bit of candle in it, and address his tirades to that ghastly object! How he would dip the ends of a thigh-bone in blazing spirits of wine, to assist in bringing home to the imagination of his hearers the pictures he drew of the pains of hell and purgatory! And all this is exceedingly probable, for it is in striking accordance with the nature and character of the man, eager for personal exhibition and applause; given to clap-trap, theatrical and melodramatic in the quality of his mind; a born charlatan, who,

if he had not been a Pope, could have found no other sphere of life so fitted to his special gifts and idiosyncrasies as that of a theatrical *Primo Tenore.*

The little church in which he said his first mass is attached to the foundling hospital of Tata Giovanni. This was an institution founded in the course of the last century by an excellent and pious mason of Rome, who commenced the good work by giving an asylum in his own home to a number of friendless orphans. Assisted by others, the little institution prospered, and obtained the means of perpetuity. This good man's name was Giovanni Borgi. His young *protégés* spoke of him naturally enough as Tata Giovanni—Papa Giovanni, as we should say; and hence the name by which the hospital has become permanently known. To this little institution he was, in 1819, on returning crowned with laurels from his mission, appointed president. And in the same year he received the appointment of coadjutor to the Canon Annibale Gregorio Schmid, in the church of St. Maria in Via Lata. In these appointments he continued till the year 1823, occupying himself assiduously in the care of the orphans entrusted to his supervision. His detractors relate

that he was obliged to relinquish the presidency of the hospital in consequence of a dispute with one of his colleagues in the government of the hospital, arising out of his too great severity to the lads, and his partiality. All that is known of the character of Pius the Ninth would go to show that the first of these accusations is highly improbable; the second perhaps much less so. It seems very unlikely, however, to those who are well acquainted with the habits of Italian thought and ways and administration, that any such cause should have led to such a result. It is said, again, that these disagreeable circumstances at the hospital were the cause of that notable voyage to South America, which is the next incident in the Pontiff's varied career. It is possible enough that he may have had an unpleasant quarrel with some one of his colleagues, without the cause of that quarrel having had anything to do with his conduct towards the children under his charge. But it is extremely improbable that any such dispute should have led him to adopt so very disproportionate a measure for escaping the annoyance of it, as the acceptance of a mission to South America. We shall probably be nearer to the truth, and be arriving at a conclusion far more in accordance with the

characteristics of the man, if we suppose his desire to make part of the mission to South America to be attributable to his longing to figure on a larger scene, to place himself conspicuously before the world, to attract attention and be the observed of all observers.

The recently formed republics, which had just succeeded, or had hardly yet definitively succeeded, in throwing off the yoke of Spain, had requested the Apostolic See to send out to them a mission for the regularising of their ecclesiastical affairs. Pius the Seventh had selected Monsignore Muzi, then Bishop *in partibus,* and subsequently Bishop of Città di Castello, as Legate to Southern America. And most of the biographers assert that he applied to Mastai to accompany him in the quality of secretary and chaplain. Others, who have written in a hostile spirit, declare that he was forced upon Muzi, and upon the Cardinal Secretary of State, Consalvi, by the Pope, whose promise of the appointment had been privately obtained. The following extract from an authentic letter, addressed by Archbishop Caprano to an official of the Secretary of State's office, dated 22nd April, 1823, proves that the former statement at least is not true :

"GENTILISSIMO SIGNOR ABBATE,

"To please a member of the Sacred* College, I have to propose as companion to Monsignore Muzi, in his voyage to Chili, and in his Apostolic ministry, Count Giovanni Maria Mastai, nephew of the late Monsignore Mastai, and Coadjuvator Canon of S. Maria, in Via Lata."

The writer goes on to enumerate a variety of excellent qualities to be found in the young aspirant, the truthfulness and value of which statement may be estimated by the mention in the catalogue of virtues of "learning, which is found in him most abundantly." Enough has been said already to show how far it was possible that this should have been the case. The writer of the letter goes on to mention, as a reason against making the appointment asked for, that the hospital of Tata Giovanni would lose a most affectionate and able governor, and the children there be deprived of a tender father. "A vacancy would be made there, difficult, or rather impossible, to fill, because such another

* The Cardinal Annibale della Genga, a great friend and protector of Mastai, who so shortly afterwards succeeded Pius the Seventh as Leo the Twelfth.

president could not be found." All which, of course, is mere official flummery.

The truth seems to have been that Mastai applied to his protector, Della Genga, for the appointment; that the latter, going direct to the Pope, obtained from him, already, as has been seen, well disposed towards Mastai, the promise of it; and that the Secretary of State, Consalvi, who had already named the Abbate Giuseppe Sallusti as Secretary to the Mission, was somewhat embarrassed by the necessity of keeping the Pope's promise. However, room was made for the new comer. He was to be Secretary, and Sallusti went as "Historiographer."

The voyage was from first to last an eventful one. The travellers, including in their party the Archdeacon Cienfuegos, Minister Plenipotentiary from Chili to the Papal Court, and his chaplain, the Dominican Raimondo d'Arce, who happened to be returning to their country, left Rome on the 3rd July, 1823. The good ship *Eloisa* was awaiting them at Genoa. When they got there, however, and had sent all their baggage on board, and it had been stowed below, the captain discovered that he must wait for a consignment which had not yet arrived, and would not be able to sail for several

days! The travellers had no choice but to leave their trunks on board and return to their hotel. But there they found that the quarters they had occupied were already let to others, and that no room was to be found for them! In this embarrassment they applied to the Archbishop, who hospitably received and entertained them. Very naturally, of course. And the incident would not have been worth mentioning, but for the circumstance that the Archbishop in question was the Cardinal Lambruschini, and that that was his first meeting with the man who was subsequently, twenty-five years later, the successful rival who ousted him from the Papacy.

The party were still at Genoa, when the tidings of the death of Pius the Seventh, which occurred on the 20th of August, reached them. And the news of the election of Mastai's friend and protector, Della Genga, as the successor of Pius the Seventh, under the name of Leo the Twelfth, on the 28th of September, must have reached them while they were still detained in that port; for it was not till the 5th of October that the *Eloisa* finally set sail for the other side of the Atlantic. On the evening of the 10th they had rough weather, which drove them on to the coast of Catalonia; and it was not without

having been exposed to very considerable danger, that they succeeded in finding refuge in the port of Palma. Palma, however, is in Spain, and they were bound for Spain's revolted colonies; and they soon found that they had escaped the perils of the ocean only to fall into other perils by land. It seems strange that a bishop, invested with the character of Pontifical Legate, and his suite should have been treated as Monsignore Muzi and his companions were treated by the authorities of a Spanish provincial town. But it must be supposed that such things must be accepted among other equally strange "cosas de España." The first thing was that the *Eloisa*, by some absurd interpretation of the absurd quarantine laws, was declared "in contumacy" for twenty days! As soon as the object of the journey of the ecclesiastical party became known, they were compelled to land and were forthwith thrown into prison. For it was clear that the colonies, being in a condition of rebellion against Spain, nobody ought to be permitted to go thither without Spanish passports and Spanish authority. Meantime the municipal councillors, in the temporary absence of the Governor, had debated what ought to be done in the present unprecedented circumstances, and had

come to the conclusion that there could be no harm in sending the prisoners to the fort of Ceuta, on the opposite coast of Africa, till the pleasure of the superior authorities could be known in the matter! Fortunately, Monsignore Muzi had in the meanwhile found the means of communicating with the consuls of Sardinia and Austria, and with the Bishop of Majorca; and when at the expiration of five days the Governor returned, the prisoners were set at liberty, and the *Eloisa* was permitted to continue her voyage.

They crossed the Atlantic without further incident, save falling in with a slaver carrying a full cargo to Rio Janeiro, which came so close to them that they could hear the groans of the slaves and the clanking of their chains; but, on nearing the coast, were overtaken by a storm, which placed them in the most imminent danger. The "historiographer" Sallusti records, among other moving accidents and misfortunes, that a terrible lurch of the ship sent Mastai flying, from the place where he was sitting on one side of the cabin, with his head directed in the fashion of a battering-ram, against the abdomen of the Dominican, who was seated on the opposite side. The companions of the two victims, we are

told, considered it a very remarkable case of special Providence that "the former did not fracture his skull, or the latter have his sternum staved in." And as a subsequent biographer very seriously remarks, the Abbate Sallusti cannot be accused of relating this incident for the sake of attaching *a romantic interest* to the person of the future Pope, inasmuch as he wrote twenty-five years before the elevation of the victim of it! The danger to which the voyagers were exposed seems, however, to have been very real; and the *Eloisa* did not succeed in making her port at the Rio della Plata till the 1st of January, 1824.

At Buenos Ayres Monsignore Muzi and his companions were at first received with all honour and welcome. But the circumstances which inevitably, and as a foregone conclusion, condemned the expedition to failure very shortly began to show themselves. The republican Governor, a few days after their arrival, ordered them to leave the city immediately; and his absolute refusal to permit the Apostolic Vicar to hold a confirmation in the cathedral is sufficiently indicative of the motives of the republican authorities. They felt that there was reason to dread the influence of these Roman priests on a

population whose bigoted and fervent Catholicism formed one of the greatest difficulties with which those intent on establishing a republican form of government, independent of the mother country, had to contend.

It would need a much longer exposition of the state of things and of parties in the new republics at that time to trace the causes of all the troubles and failure to which the Apostolic Mission was exposed, than can be introduced into these pages. They all of them were more or less directly reducible to the cause which has been already intimated, and to the fundamental grounds of dispute which inevitably existed between the republican leaders and the Church influences and Church feeling of the populations out of which they were attempting, vainly enough, to form free and self-governing communities.

But besides the political circumstances, which rendered the mission necessarily a failure, the unhappy ecclesiastics had to suffer troubles of quite a different order, which, however, might doubtless have been much mitigated had the strangers and their objects been truly welcome to the authorities of the country. Here is a sketch, based on the

relation of the historiographer Sallusti, of their journey across the Pampas:

"To travel the entire day, under the rays of a burning sun, across arid plains; to be in perpetual danger of being murdered on the way by savage Indians, or devoured by wild beasts during their sleep at night; to be without water to quench intolerable thirst, or food to satisfy their hunger; to sleep in stinking cabins infested by thousands of poisonous insects, or under the open sky in a climate reeking with copious and unwholesome dews;—this is the life which travellers on the Pampas lead, and which Mastai led for three months. And yet with what good temper, with what patience, with what never-failing cheerfulness did he support all these privations, and face all these dangers! His companions long preserved the memory of his unalterable good-humour, and of his light-hearted words."

One night at a place called Chovillo, the party having been obliged to pass the night on the bare earth, were assailed by an innumerable quantity of toads, and, horrible to relate, the historiographer records that one of these loathsome reptiles was found absolutely on the head of the future Pope, where he was attacking the spot bared by the

tonsure so viciously that it was not without difficulty that he was detached!

At last they arrived at Santiago di Chili on the 19th of March, 1824. The same difficulties, however, awaited them here which had driven them from Buenos Ayres. The populace made too much of them. The men in power would fain have got rid of them. The republic had agreed to lodge and board the mission, and it did so, but in such sort, as to both food and lodging, that the strangers had to live almost *al fresco*, and were half starved. Every possible hindrance and obstacle was placed in the way of their accomplishing the purposes for which they had come. One of these was the regularising of the position of the monks and nuns. The ecclesiastical property had been confiscated, and a pension was to be allowed for the regulars remaining in the monasteries. For that purpose the numbers in each were to be certified by these experts come from Rome. And no doubt there was a vast amount of fraud, as usual in such matters. But one story is told, and has always been believed, which would go to show that all the faults were not on the side of the republican Government; also that our young monsignore, Canon Mastai, was in his time a wag.

In the convent of the Augustines all the inmates had accepted secularisation with the exception of the Father Superior, the cook, and a dog attached to the convent. They sent in a demand for three individuals, and Mastai duly passed it, specifying the individuals in due form, and submitting the paper for signature to the Legate, who signed without reading it! Signor Petrucelli represents that the matter was so arranged that Mastai put in his own pocket the sum of which the Government was defrauded. But though I have heard this story told for the last thirty years, I never before heard this signification attached to it. The escapade on the part of Mastai was purely a bit of (somewhat irreverent) fun. The scandal it created at Chili at the time was considerable, and is said to have contributed to the determination of the Legate to strike his tents and return. They reached Rome at the beginning of July, 1825.

CHAPTER III.

MASTAI'S RETURN TO ROME.—CARDINAL DELLA GENGA, AS LEO TWELFTH.—HIS CHARACTER.—CONSALVI AND ANTONELLI.—POLICY OF LEO TWELFTH.—HIS TREATMENT OF THE JEWS.—RESULTS OF HIS SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.—CARDINAL RIVAROLA AT RAVENNA.—HIS VIOLENT PROCEEDINGS.—HIS GRAND MEASURE OF RECONCILIATION.—MASTAI APPOINTED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MICHAEL.—CONFLICTING STATEMENTS AS TO HIS CONDUCT THERE.—CARDINAL TOMMASO BERNETTI, LEO'S SECRETARY OF STATE.—HIS CHARACTER.—SUMMING UP OF THE RESULTS OF THE REIGN OF LEO THE TWELFTH.—MASTAI APPOINTED TO THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF SPOLETO.

MASTAI returned to Rome to find his old friend and protector, the Cardinal della Genga, on the throne as Leo the Twelfth; and matters in the Pontifical dominions looking, to those who had eyes to read the signs of the times, very bad and menacing. After the exclusion of Cardinal Severoli in the Conclave, which assembled at the death of Pius the Seventh, by the *veto* of Austria, the choice of a new

Pontiff had lain between Consalvi, the late Secretary of State, and Della Genga. Besides being personally hostile, they were very diametrically opposed to each other in opinions, temperament and views. Consalvi had passed his life in diplomacy, knew Europe and its political conditions well, was a man of the world, and would have at least striven to introduce such moderately rational ameliorations in the Papal government as might have possibly done somewhat to avert the storm which was evidently brewing. Della Genga, fully minded to spend and be spent in the struggle to do his duty, conceived that that duty consisted in improving the state of things by going backwards; in intensifying clericalism, and in crushing all opposition and rebellious discontent with a high hand by means of violent repression and terror. Antonelli, the minister of Pius the Ninth, has died before his master, instead of surviving him as Consalvi did; and he was by no means so good a man as the latter. But he was an equally shrewd man, and was equally well fitted by his experience to read the signs of the times, and understand what of the claims of the Church it might be possible by judicious conduct to preserve, and what must inevitably be abandoned in the hope

of saving the remainder. The Sacred College, at that forking of the ways when they might have made either Consalvi or Della Genga Pope, took the road which led to uncompromising resistance to all the demands of the civil world. A similar choice will shortly be again presented to them. But the demands of the world have in the meantime grown to be very much higher. It remains to be seen whether the guardians of the Papacy will give mankind a Pope who will be willing to give much for the sake of retaining something, or one after the fashion of the Jesuit-inspired Syllabus and the Encyclical, who, giving nothing, will force mankind into taking all.

The ardently-pursued policy of Leo the Twelfth was simply to restore old practices and usages, which had been abandoned only because they had been found to be intolerable. "He was determined," writes an historian* of that epoch, "to change the condition of society, bringing it back to the utmost of his power to the old usages and ordinances, which he deemed to be admirable; and he pursued that object with never flagging zeal. By him the authority of the various congregations of Cardinals

* "Lo Stato Romano, dell' anno 1815 al 1850," per Luigi Carlo Farini, vol. i. p. 17.

was restored, and many old practices and disciplines of the Apostolic Curia were re-established. He was a great protector and encourager of all the religious confraternities. He insisted by the bull *Quod divina Sapientia,* on placing the entire system of the education of youth under priestly control. He put all institutions of charity and beneficence into the hands of the clergy. He confirmed and even enlarged all the immunities, privileges, and jurisdictions of the ecclesiastical order. He took from the Jews the right to possess property, compelling them to sell what they had within a given time. He recalled to life and vigour many of the insulting and barbarous usages of the middle ages as regarded them. He shut them into the Ghetto with walls and gates. He placed them under the power of the Inquisition; which caused many wealthy traders to emigrate to Trieste, to Lombardy, and to Tuscany. He abolished the magistracy which had the care of vaccination, and repealed their regulations. He gave unlimited powers of entail to possessors of property. He gave over the whole system of the administration of justice into the hands of priests, and reduced all form of trial to the arbitrary decision of a single judge. He invested the central govern-

ment with all the powers previously exercised by the municipalities. He increased the severity of the game laws. He commanded that the Latin tongue should be used in all judicial proceedings, and in all the education of youth."

And all this was done by a good man anxious and eager to do his duty to the best of his lights and understanding!

The results of his method of governing his states soon showed themselves in insurrections, conspiracies, assassinations and rebellion, especially in Umbria, the Marches, and Romagna; the violent repression of which by a system of espionage, secret denunciation, and wholesale application of the gibbet and the galleys, left behind it to those who were to come afterwards a very terrible, rankling, and long-enduring debt of party hatreds, of political and social demoralisation, and—worst of all—of contempt for and enmity to the law, as such.

What else could be the result of such an administration of justice (!) as Ravenna, for instance, was subjected to by a Cardinal Rivarola, who was sent thither by Leo the Twelfth to put down the secret societies, which, created for the subversion of the Government, were in fact subverting all law, order,

and the very possibility of social life? Rivarola began by instituting a secret inquisition, and by surrounding himself by informers and spies. He forbade all the citizens to leave their habitations by night without a lanthorn in their hand; the punishment for contravention to be awarded in each case arbitrarily. He threw people into prison without the smallest regard to social condition, to sex, to age, or to character. In 1825, on the 31st of August, he condemned 508 individuals—seven to death, thirteen to the galleys for life, sixteen for twenty years, four for fifteen years, sixteen for ten years, three for seven years, and others to shorter terms, or to longer terms of a less terrible kind of imprisonment. Besides these, 229 were condemned to police surveillance *of the first class*, and 157 to that *of the second class*. The former implied prohibition to leave the culprit's native place; the obligation to be in his own home by sunset, and not to leave it before sunrise; to present himself before an inspector of police every fifteen days; to go to confession once a month, and to prove having done so by the testimony of a confessor approved for the purpose by the Government; and lastly, to "make a retreat," as this ecclesiastical discipline is called, once in every year, for at least three

days, in a convent designed for the purpose by the bishop. And as all these disabilities and duties were deemed to be good for anybody, a very slight indication of a suspicion of liberalism sufficed to place man, woman, or child on the list of those specially watched by the police. The punishment for disobeying any one of the above commands was imprisonment in the galleys for three years. The restrictions and burthens laid on those condemned to police surveillance of the second class were very little lighter; only the punishment for contravention was somewhat less severe. But as all these efforts to suppress Carbonarism were found insufficient, his Eminence published an ordinance condemning to death all heads and propagators of secret societies, *who should be known to* his Eminence as such, without any trial or form of proof whatsoever. The *knowledge* in question was supplied to the Cardinal by any spy or secret informer who thought fit to make a private statement to that effect!

Much distressed, however, at finding that his mode of governing had somehow or other produced much ill-will among the citizens, very notably at Faenza, where the *Carbonari* were called "dogs," and the *Sanfedisti*, or Pope's friends, were called

"cats," when the whole population was either one or the other, and when the life was accurately described by the names the hostile parties had given themselves, the good Cardinal determined on a grand conciliatory measure, which should have the effect of healing at once, and for evermore, all these sad and unfortunate hatreds and dissensions. Under these circumstances, the Cardinal Legate determined that a number of young men and maidens of the opposite parties should be joined together in holy matrimony, as a public and striking testimony of reconciliation and general brotherhood and goodwill! He, the Cardinal, would furnish the girls with good dowers on the happy occasion! On these terms it was not difficult to find as many brides and bridegrooms as he wished. But—the efficacy of the plan, and the result of the marriages so formed, may be left to the imagination!

It was to such a government and such a society that Mastai returned from his Transatlantic travels, and in the midst of such maxims of government that he entered upon his career as a member of the governing caste.

Immediately on his return, he was appointed by his old friend, and now sovereign, Leo, to the office

of Administrator of the Hospital of St. Michael. This is a vast establishment, situated at that part of the right bank of the Tiber which is called Ripa Grande. The scope of it is partly to afford a refuge to aged paupers, but mainly to receive abandoned or neglected children, and to teach them trades by which they may support themselves. Its first foundation was due to Innocent the Tenth, who died in 1655. The boast of Catholic writers that it is the most ancient institution of the kind in Europe, is therefore absurd. But it is one of the largest. The foundation of Innocent the Tenth, intended for only a hundred boys, was enormously increased by subsequent Pontiffs; by Innocent the Twelfth, by the Eleventh and Twelfth Clements, and by Pius the Sixth. Peculation, mismanagement, and maladministration had reduced the establishment almost to a condition of bankruptcy, at the time when Leo the Twelfth confided the administration of it to the young Canon Mastai.

The hostile biographers declare that he was in this office guilty of cruelty to the children. The more devout among his eulogists assert that a complete restoration of financial prosperity was attained there by the administrative talents of the young Canon,

and by the sacrifice of his entire patrimonial fortune to the object in view. Both statements are in all probability equally false. Pius the Ninth has never given the world any reason to believe that he is one who could be capable of being cruel to children. And his office gave him little opportunity of coming in contact with them, having been concerned with the financial administration rather than with the teaching or disciplinarian department of the establishment. The eulogistic statement about his patrimony, on the other hand, is due to French piety. No Italian writer, however devout, could have ventured to tell the Italians that the finances of the Hospital of St. Michael were helped on their way to prosperity by the sacrifice of the Mastai patrimony! Nor is it credible that the all but desperate condition of the finances of the hospital were placed on a sound and prosperous footing by Canon Mastai, because he retained his position as administrator but a few months. But it may be believed that he did his duty in the office with zeal, discrimination, and fair ability.

It was, however, a subordinate one; and though much about the same time the Canon Mastai received from Leo the Twelfth the *mantelletta* of the

Prelature, he could not be said as yet to belong to the governing class of the priesthood, or to have any part in the government, which was so indefeasibly preparing the events with which he was to be subsequently called upon to deal.

In 1826 Leo sent Monsignore Tommaso Bernetti to carry the conventional message of congratulation to the Czar Nicholas, who had then recently succeeded to the Russian throne; and on his return he made him a Cardinal; and in the January of 1827 named him Secretary of State in place of Monsignore della Somaglia, whom he had appointed to that post at his accession. It was an improvement; for Della Somaglia was an aged man, who, however devout and exact in the practices enjoined by his religion, was wholly ignorant of public affairs, devoid of the most elementary notions of the art of governing men, and possessed of no other knowledge of human nature than such as could be acquired in a cloister or a sacristy.

Bernetti, on the contrary, though every inch a priest, and a zealous partisan of the political independence of the Pope's temporal power—without which qualifications he would assuredly never have become Leo the Twelfth's Secretary of State—was

a shrewd and perspicacious man, who understood, as well as it is given to a priest to do, the general state of Europe; and, while feeling the necessity of keeping on good terms with Austria, was by no means disposed to trust the fate of the Papacy wholly to that dangerous friend. He, like his master, was always ready and on the alert to combat "the enemies of the throne and of the altar" on any field on which battle with them might be done. But although the Pope publicly blessed the Austrian troops as they passed through Rome on their way northwards returning from Naples, it was no secret that neither Leo nor his secretary looked with a very friendly eye on the somewhat free-and-easy marchings of Austrian troops through his dominions.

The general results of the five* years' government of Leo the Twelfth are well summed up in the following passage from the above-quoted work of Carlo Farini:

"Truth requires that it should be told that during the reign of Leo and the government of Bernetti various good and useful things were done. Many abuses were removed, and the authors of them punished. An attempt was made to set in order

* More accurately five years, four months, and thirteen days.

the hospitals and other charitable institutions of Rome. Roads, bridges, and other public works were begun or brought to a conclusion. Public security was restored to parts of the country which had been previously infested by brigands.* Expenses were curtailed, and the taxes diminished. A sufficient sinking fund was created for the gradual extinction of the national debt. These were benefits which might have strengthened the Pontifical authority by the love and gratitude of its subjects, if the people had been contented by endowing them with institutions and civil laws, even such as were enjoyed by the subjects of other absolute monarchies, and if they had not been accompanied by excessive severity and political injustice. But the attempt to steer the ship of the State against the currents that were running in the world to the profit of a caste, the discouragement of all the most noble and precious increments of civilisation, the honour paid to the infamous trade of the informer, the suspicions against and vilifying of knowledge and science, prevented

* The writer seems here to be willing to attribute to Leo's government a merit which can hardly be said to have belonged to it. It may be credited with the wish and the attempt to do what the historian considers to have been done.

the people from having any consciousness of the good that the Government did in other respects, and caused the evils to be felt all the more acutely, by the comparison suggested with other States, and specially with the neighbouring Tuscany, where the new Grand Duke Leopold the Second was proceeding in the path of his father and his grandfather. And those ill-regulated and violent crusades against the Liberals; that clothing the inquisitor with the forensic cap, and the judge with the cowl; that mixing together religion and politics; that confounding the priest and the gendarme; that placing of the throne above the altar, rendered the Government and the priestly caste odious to the educated classes, to the young who aspired to a better future, and to the laity in general, which rebelled in its heart against this priestly tyranny."*

It was into the administration of a government informed by these ideas and principles that the future Pontiff was now about to be initiated; for before the end of the year 1827 the Canon Giovanni Mastai was named by Leo the Twelfth to the Archbishopric of Spoleto.

* "Lo Stato Romano dall' anno 1815 al 1850," per Carlo Farini, ch. ii. p. 24.

CHAPTER IV.

MASTAI AT SPOLETO.—CONDITION OF THAT DIOCESE.—ACCOUNTS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION OF THE DIOCESE.—ELECTION OF PIUS THE EIGHTH.—HIS GOVERNMENT.—CARDINAL ALBANI.—JULY REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.—ITS EFFECTS ON ITALY.—PLANS OF ITALIAN LIBERALS.—DUKE OF MODENA.—CIRO MENOTTI.—CONCLAVE FOR THE ELECTION OF A SUCCESSOR TO PIUS THE EIGHTH.—ELECTION OF GREGORY THE SIXTEENTH.—HIS CHARACTER.—COMPLEXION OF THE TIMES.—REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.—CONDUCT OF FRANCE.—PROGRESS OF THE INSURRECTION.—IMBECILITY OF THE PAPAL GOVERNMENT.—THE INSURRECTION AT SPOLETO.—CONDUCT OF AUSTRIA.—REPRESSION OF THE INSURRECTION.—MASTAI'S CONDUCT TOWARDS THE INSURGENTS.—ANECDOTE OF HIS INTERVIEW WITH A POLICE AGENT.—HIS PROMOTION TO THE SEE OF SMOLA.

THE young Archbishop—he was only thirty-four when he received the promotion—remained at Spoleto about five years, till the 17th December, 1832. It was a bad and unhappy time for Italy, and specially for the people of the Pontifical dominions. But Mastai was favourably situated: his small and un-

important diocese was less than most other parts of the States of the Church exposed to the vicissitudes produced by the efforts of the populations to escape from the tyranny which was squeezing the life out of them. Not that he and Spoleto entirely escaped the consequences of the conspiracies and insurrections which were continually bursting out like the jets from the surface of a volcanic mountain in a state of eruption, and which indicated an analogous condition of the social masses from which they were upheaved; but Spoleto and its district were in a less degree exposed to them. The ancient city, once the capital of all the Umbrian lands in days previous even to the pre-eminence of Etruscan Perugia, looks down from its torrent-washed rock on the lower slopes of the Monte Luco—a name the significance of which is still perpetuated by the wealth of forest on the mountains above Spoleto—on the valley watered by the Maroggia, along which the way from Rome to the north passes towards Perugia. But so steep is the mountain-side, and so rough and broken the rocky ground, that not even the old post-road entered Spoleto, but contented itself with passing by in the valley below. The diocese extends over a poor country almost entirely mountainous,

and the inhabitants, not less miserably ill-governed than those of the turbulent Romagnese and Emilian Legations, but too barbarous and ignorant to be equally aware of the causes of their wretchedness, took little or no part in the more dangerous movements of the time.

The two first years of the new Archbishop's incumbency passed quietly and uneventfully. The adulatory biographers of a subsequent day paint rose-coloured pictures of the wonderful results of his zealous and able administration. The rule of his predecessor in the diocese is represented as having been abominable, in order that, starting from a lower level, the altitude of his successor's excellence may appear the greater. Everything had fallen into neglect, everything was wrong throughout all the diocese. No man did his duty. Few had any idea that there was any such thing as duty to be done. Mastai came, and all was changed. Within two years everything was put right, and all the governmental machine functioned with the utmost regularity and perfection! Old, lazy, and incapable functionaries were replaced by younger and more zealous men; and not only the bad, but the useless remnants of an effete and do-nothing administration

were rooted out everywhere. And yet, we are assured, so judiciously, so kindly, with such tact and good management was this done, that it was all accomplished without making any enemies, or creating any discontent or ill feeling! How many ministers and rulers of all sorts would fain be permitted to learn the secret of the fortunate Archbishop's management!

Of course all these laudatory statements must be taken with a good many grains of salt. Very little accessible record remains of the Archbishop's life at Spoleto, or of his gestion of his spiritual functions there. But it may, perhaps, be concluded that if the kingdom is happy which has no history, the archbishopric which is in the same predicament is no less so. There are many stories told of the Archbishop's abounding charity (in the almsgiving sense) in a strain which does not invite implicit credence to the accuracy of the details, which are given in picturesque abundance. But it may be believed that the youthful Archbishop did his duty in the position in which he found himself to the best of his lights and capacity, and that he expended in alms a considerable portion of the small revenue of the See.

Leo the Twelfth died on the 10th of February, in

the year 1829, when Monsignore Mastai had occupied his archbishopric little more than a year; and Cardinal Francesca Saverio Castiglione, of Cingoli, a little town in the Marches, was elected Pope, by the name of Pius the Eighth, on the 31st of March of the same year. Few and evil were the days of Pius the Eighth on the throne. He reigned just twenty months, having died on the 30th of November, in the year 1830. He began his reign amid the continually increasing discontent and disaffection of his subjects, and he left to his successor an immediate hand-to-hand struggle with the spectre of the revolution. Little more is known of Pius the Eighth, save that, like his predecessor, his only idea of government was repression. But it may be judged from his immediate appointment of Cardinal Albani as Secretary of State, that, despite the Guelphism of Leo the Twelfth, it was becoming apparent in the regions of the Curia Romana that safety was to be found only under the shadow of Austrian protection. Albani was a man of some ability, whose outlook into the world had been a somewhat wider one than that of most of his colleagues of the Sacred College. But it had not been wide enough to enable him to perceive that the

path he was determined to pursue—rigorous repression, absolute refusal of all concession to liberal ideas and demands, and trust, in case of the worst, to Austrian bayonets in the background—led fatally to an abyss. Or if he did perceive that certainty, he was contented with the hope that things would last as they were for his time, and with the classic "*Après moi le déluge,*" which has been attributed to his Austrian protector and friend.

Pius the Eighth, infirm and in bad health when elected, was hastening to quit the scene, which for him was so troubled an one. But events hurried onwards more rapidly than he. His life had yet four months to run, when the July "ordinances" hurled Charles the Tenth from the throne of France, with a thunder-clap of revolution that shook every throne in Europe, save our own. And it was impossible that such a shock should fail to cause an explosion in such a state of the body social as existed in the Papal dominions. There, especially in the provinces of the Adriatic coast, the whole atmosphere was filled with revolution like the sky with pulsing summer lightning on a sultry evening. Had the disaffected possessed any well-considered plan of action, or even any combined and common under-

standing of what they desired, the Papacy could hardly have at that time succeeded in quelling the movement. "There existed," says a contemporary historian,* "no well-considered plan. Some wished to place the sons of Beauharnais at the head of the Italian movement; others some Italian prince; and others, again, had plans differing from either of these. The conspirators of the Roman States were for the most part Voltairians, or indifferentists in regard to religion, materialists in philosophy, and almost all of them constitutionalists in politics, some after the French, some after the Spanish model. Few had any well-defined notions of any philosophical or national system. The greater number thought only of destroying! Of building up, they thought it would be time to take heed afterwards, if only in the meantime the priests and the Sanfedisti should get the worst of it, and the hated Government be overturned.

There was a very strong and widely current idea in liberal circles at that time that Francis the Fourth, Duke of Modena, was disposed to place himself at the head of the revolutionary movement, doubtless with the hope (if he really had any such notion) of

* Carlo Farini, Op. cit., ch. iii. vol. i.

becoming the constitutional sovereign of Italy. He was certainly in intimate communication with a certain Ciro Menotti. And there are grounds for supposing that Austria was watching him with distrustful and suspicious eyes. It is a page of history which needs further elucidation than it has yet received. What is certain, however, is that Duke Francesco perceived that he was in a dangerous position in time to draw back, and became one of the most ferocious of the enemies of all liberalism, and liberalisers, and that Ciro Menotti, having learned, not in time, the danger of putting his trust in princes, was put to death.

But the rapid development of the revolutionary conflagration, which followed the French July revolution, seems to have had a paralysing effect on the Pontifical Government. The Sanfedisti were disheartened; the liberals were increasing in courage, and little outbreaks of insurrection were appearing here and there on all sides, like an eruption of the skin telling of the fevered state of the blood below the surface! And the Apostolic Government did nothing. In truth the Pope was dying, and this may have been a reason for the apparently benumbed condition of the Government, in a state in which no

man could tell, or even guess, to whom might fall the task of dealing with the difficulties of the hour. And in the midst of this condition of things on the 30th of November the Pope died.

His successor could not be got elected till the 2nd of February, 1831. The Cardinals went into conclave on the 14th of December, and took all the rest of that month and the whole of the next to complete their task. And then they made about the worst choice that it was practically open to them to make. There was not, in all probability, a man in the Sacred College who was less capable of achieving even that bad best which it might have been possible to achieve, under the overwhelmingly difficult circumstances of the case. The diplomatic body at Rome intrigued, after the traditional fashion, for Cardinal Pacca, who was at least a man not without some knowledge and experience of men, and of the general aspect of the political world, and who would probably have been the best choice they could make. The party of the *Zelanti* in the Conclave—by which phrase is to be understood what we might *mutatis mutandis* call the High Church party, the men who were priests first and men and Italians afterwards, the thorough-going nail-your-colours-to-

the-mast men—these *Zelanti* wished to elect Cardinal Giustiniani, who had been Nuncio at Madrid, and was one of the most uncompromising sticklers for the old order of things in its untouched entirety. On the evening of the 7th of January he had twenty-one votes, and everything seemed to indicate that a few more repetitions of the scrutiny would give him the required majority.* But on the morning of the 9th, Cardinal Mauro, the Spanish Ambassador to the Apostolic Court, announced to the Cardinals that he had received special instructions from his Government to exclude his Eminence Giustiniani. It is curious, and not without significance, to remark how very frequently it has occurred that the "veto" has been given against candidates for the Papacy by the Courts to which they have been accredited as Nuncios.

There have been times—and such may be seen again!—when the "veto," which exists *of right* only in the case of Portugal, which has never once used it, has been passed over and disregarded. But the Conclave which assembled on the death of Pius the Eighth, was not in the least likely to adopt any such

* The Conclave upon this occasion consisted of forty-five cardinals. Thirty-one votes—two thirds plus one—were therefore needed to make an election.

high-handed course. Giustiniani, on receiving this "veto" from his old friends the Spaniards, set himself to support Cardinal Cappellari, the Camaldolese monk, who eventually became Gregory the Sixteenth, with all his influence. The other and more reasonable party, the party supported by the representatives of the Catholic Powers of Europe, was, however, still strong; and the struggle continued all that month of January, till, on reaching nearly the end of it, the scrutiny showed twenty-four votes for Cappellari, and eighteen for Pacca. Then Albani, the late Secretary of State, who had been hitherto a staunch member of the diplomatic party, and a supporter of Pacca, either wearied out by the length of the Conclave, or, as is more probable, foreseeing that, whereas he was still in time to have the credit of making the Pope, he would, if he delayed his conversion, see the Pope made in despite of him, and therefore hostile to him, joined the party of the *Zelanti;* and on the morning of the 2nd of February, Cappellari had the necessary thirty-three votes, and was elected as Gregory the Sixteenth.

The joy-bells that proclaimed his election to his subjects, rung out the knell of the temporal power of the Papacy.

I believe, however, that in the opinion of most persons on the northern side of the Alps, and of the younger generation on this side also, such a statement would be deemed erroneous. It would probably be maintained by most persons, that a more judicious line of conduct on the part of Gregory's successor might yet have averted, or at all events deferred, the loss of the temporal crown. Opportunities of looking at the course of events, and the movement of men's minds in Italy very closely for the last five and thirty years, have led me to think differently.

It must not be forgotten, also, that the generation of men which finally determined that their country should no longer be ruled by a theocracy, were bred and educated under the pontificate of Gregory; as the Jesuit Father Curci very significantly observes, in the remarkable preface to his "Lectures on the Gospels," lately delivered and published in Florence.

The Camaldolese monk, who became Gregory the Sixteenth, was a grossly ignorant man, and as narrow-minded a man as a monk could be. It is said by his defenders that he was very learned in canon law. He might as well have been a perfect master of the Chinese code of etiquette, for any service such learn-

ing could afford him in the difficulties of the task before him. He is reported to have been good-natured. But his good-nature never availed to check the cruelties which his Government considered necessary for repressing the discontent occasioned by his uniform refusal to ameliorate any portion of the system which was crushing the life out of his subjects. He was not a bigot; for his nature was too earthly to afford any fuel for the fire of spiritual passions. And during his reign of a few months over fifteen years, that spiritual power, by virtue of which more or less efficaciously underlying the temporal power, the latter has under many difficulties, during all these centuries, alone contrived to exist, was altogether lost. The temporal power, visibly, unmistakably, avowedly resting on Austrian bayonets, was the only power Gregory the Sixteenth wielded. Pius the Ninth, the circumstances of the world aiding him, has undeniably recovered a large amount of really spiritual power. And the temporal power of an old priest, ruling over a small territory of unwarlike subjects, can exist only by the aid of a large addition of spiritual power. And this Gregory the Sixteenth wellnigh killed, or perhaps it would be more just to say, lacked the capacity to restore to life, or

to prevent the last lingering sparks of it from dying. But while thus criticising Gregory, his character, and the results of his Papacy, it is just to admit that the times in which his lines were cast were such as to make the duties of the position assigned to him arduous and difficult to the last degree. The interests of the Papacy, whether regarded as a religious institution or as the secular government of the provinces subjected to it, imperatively needed that the Conclave, which elected Gregory the Sixteenth, should, were it possible, select a man sufficiently instructed in the general tendencies and movement of the times to be able to judge what was possible, and what not possible, as regarded the maintenance of the Papal spiritual as well as temporal pretensions; a man of sufficiently enlarged intelligence to eliminate the non-essential in questions of religious practice and doctrine; and lastly, one who was a sufficiently zealous and earnest bishop of souls to make the apparent requirements of his princely power bend where needful to the permanent and larger interests of his Church. It is hardly necessary to say that Gregory had no smallest *scintilla* of any of these qualities. The Sacred College made probably about the worst choice they could have made.

Yet the voices that should have warned them were sounding loudly enough! While the Conclave was sitting, conspiracy against the yet unchosen sovereign was rife, not only in the provinces, but under the very noses of the Cardinals in Rome.

The history of unsuccessful conspiracies is necessarily obscure; but sufficient records of the tentatives which, though crushed by merciless repression, prepared the way for the revolution which has deprived the Papacy of its kingship, are yet attainable to permit the story of them to be written, if this were the place to do it. But it is impossible to compress the scattered and very varied details of it into the few paragraphs, which is all that could here be given to the subject. The Ciro Menotti who has been already mentioned, and who was the proprietor of a straw-hat manufactory, in which the Duke of Modena was to some extent a partner,* was the most prominent leader in the conspiracy which disturbed the first years of Gregory the Sixteenth.

* It seems possible that the frequent meetings between the Duke and Menotti, from which the belief that the former was in truth at the head of the conspirators was mainly generated, had reference solely to the affairs of this partnership. On this part of the subject, however, it is not likely that any further light will be obtained.

And it seems certain that it was he who, travelling in Tuscany for the purposes of the conspiracy, first proposed to Napoleon and Luigi Buonaparte, the sons of the ex-King of Holland, to join in the movement.

Of course, the fact that Austria had an army in Lombardy ready to march at a day's notice was not omitted from the considerations of the conspirators when calculating the chances of success. But the new Government of France which sprung from the July revolution had proclaimed aloud the principle of non-intervention. A committee of Italian refugees residing in Paris had been formed immediately on the outbreak of Parisian insurrection, with the view of causing the revolutionary movement to spread itself to Italy; and this committee consulted sundry notable persons in Paris, whose replies led them to believe that France would, at need, cause the principle of non-intervention, which had equally been recognised by England,* to be respected. Genay, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Florence, and Latour Maubourg, French Minister at Naples, were also consulted, and both were of opinion that the Italians might rely securely on the determination of France

* Speech of Lord Grey. See An. Hist. 1870, part ii. ch. viii.

to permit no intervention by Austria in the affairs of Central and Southern Italy. More authoritative declarations fatally fostering the same delusion were not wanting. Sebastiani, Minister of Foreign Affairs, speaking in the French Chamber of Deputies on the 27th of January, declared that "the Holy Alliance was founded on the principle of intervention, which was fatal to the independence of all the secondary States; but that France had consecrated the contrary principle, and *would know how to cause it to be respected,* and the independence and liberty of all to be secured."*

It is true that the Italians had been similarly deceived by French assurances sufficiently often to make the trust that was placed in them on this occasion, to the loss of very many lives, the ruin of very many families, and much and widespread misery, exceedingly imprudent. But it is in the nature of conspirators to be imprudent; and these men trusted and were miserably deceived.

Gregory the Sixteenth was elected on the 2nd of February. The conspirators had fixed the 5th as

* See *Moniteur*, 28th January, 1831. See also the declarations of Recchi, Manzoni, Fragani, and Zappi in the *Courier Français* of the 30th June, 1831.

the day when the insurrection was to commence in Modena, selected as the scene of the first attempt because the Duke was even exceptionally hated, and his means of resistance comparatively small. The Duke, having succeeded in surprising and capturing Menotti, ran away to Mantua, within the Austrian frontier, taking his prisoner with him, reserved for future vengeance. But the ramifications of the conspiracy were very much too widely spread for the revolt to be nipped in the bud by the arrest of the chief conspirator. Insurrections broke out in Reggio, Parma, Guastalla, and other cities. Within the limits of the Papal States the important city of Bologna fell into the hands of the insurgents so entirely that a provisional government was formed, and had undisputed possession of the city and province. The contagion of revolt spread like wildfire. Forli, Cesena, Rimini, Ravenna, Ferrara, Pesaro, Urbino, all rebelled against their ecclesiastical rulers on the 5th of February, the day first named for the outbreak at Modena. Before the end of February the whole of the Marches were in open revolt, and the movement had spread thence to Perugia and the province of Umbria.

In Perugia an incident occurred which indicates in

a very striking manner the wonderful ignorance of the ecclesiastics who formed the Government at Rome as to the real condition of the public mind and the temper of the times. The Delegate of Perugia, as the highest papal authority in the province was called, was striving, in face of the popular insurrection, to arm a "national guard," in which those only should be enrolled and armed whose sentiments were known to be favourable to the Government. As might have been predicted, the measure was a failure. Candidates for admission into the ranks of the civic force were abundant enough; but the filtering process, which it was hoped would include the friends of the authorities and shut out their enemies, broke down altogether. And the unfortunate Delegate was struggling with these difficulties when an order arrived from Rome "to arm the population *en masse* on the approach of the insurgents from the north!" It was actually believed at Rome, while insurrection was spreading like wildfire through every province of the papal dominions, that "the mass of the population" were ready to fight for their sacerdotal rulers! The consternation of the unhappy Delegate may be imagined. Of course, he saw that the game was up, and at the

bidding of a "provisional government," gave up the fortress into their hands.

Monsignore Giovanni Mastai, meanwhile, was looking out at the all-important election consummated at Rome, and at the wild confusion and anarchy in the provinces of the Adriatic coast and Umbria, from the comparative tranquillity of the rock of Spoleto. It was not long, however, before the advancing tide of the revolution overtook him there too. On the 13th of that same February emissaries from the already revolted cities insisted that the Delegate should enroll and give arms to a national guard. He resisted as long as he could, and then, quitting the city secretly, ran away to Rieti. The Archbishop, very characteristically, thinking that his eloquence would avail where the Delegate's more material resistance had failed, endeavoured to persuade the malcontents to abandon their purpose—in vain, as might be supposed—and then he too shook the dust off his shoes against the perverse city, and ran away to Leonessa in the Abruzzi.

Meantime the insurgents of the northern provinces were advancing towards Rome, and had reached Terni, where they were joined by Napoleon and

Luigi Buonaparte, coming out of Tuscany. It was from Terni that the former of the two wrote that memorable letter to Gregory the Sixteenth, warning him that "the forces marching upon Rome were invincible; that he therefore counselled the Pope to abandon his temporal power," and concluding by stating that he "waited for an answer"!

Of course the answer was an appeal to Austria (19th of February), to which that power responded with alacrity. The Princes of Modena and Parma had already made similar applications. Austria, in the first instance, questioned France respecting her intentions in case Austria saw fit to intervene for the purpose of tranquillising Italy. France replied that war was possible if Austria entered Modena, probable if she passed the frontier of the Papal States, certain if she entered Piedmont. But this was the reply of Lafitte,* who ceased to be minister on the 8th of March. He was succeeded by Perrier, who held that France should indeed uphold the principle of non-intervention, but only by "moral influence."† Austria understood that she was at

* President of the Council in the Chamber of Deputies, 15th August, 1831, and 20th January, 1832.

† Annuaire Hist., 1831, part ii. ch. v.

liberty to restore "order" throughout the peninsula; the Italian Liberals understood that they had been betrayed to their destruction; and it only remained to execute such vengeance on the rebels and conspirators as might, it was hoped, avail to prevent any other such outbreak for awhile.

France indeed "protested" (27th March, 1831), but it was after the Austrian bayonets had done their work. Already previously (26th March, 1831), the Emperor of Austria had ordered the recall of his troops to his own bank of the Po, leaving only such garrisons as were necessary "at the disposition of the Pope," and to be sent away by him whenever he should think fit.

As it was impossible to narrate in the space available in this volume the rise and progress of the rebellion, so any attempt to give an account of the means taken for the punishment of the authors of it must be abandoned. The Apostolic Government laid claim to the praise of exceeding moderation and clemency. And in truth without the exercise of such, the Holy Father would have depopulated his provinces. But the pursuit of the culpable was very persistent, and the meed of punishment more than sufficiently sanguinary.

Italian biographers of Pio Nono, writing when he was at the summit of popularity at the beginning of his reign, relate that the rebellion never reached Spoleto—that the Archbishop's good management, conciliatory conduct, and eloquence succeeded in maintaining peace in his diocese. This is not true, as has already been seen. But it does appear to be true that he acted towards those compromised by the rebellion in a spirit of kindness, Christian charity, and indulgence, which was shared by few of his colleagues in similar positions. It is related that a body of the insurgents driven before the Austrian troops like chaff before the wind, threw themselves, to the number of nearly five thousand, into Spoleto. The Austrians were only a few leagues behind them. "The Archbishop," writes one of these authors,* "intimated to the Austrians to stop!" He then addressed the fugitive insurgents with such moving eloquence that he induced them to lay down their arms and make submission, and then prevailed upon the Austrian general to depart in peace. Very little eloquence, it may be surmised, was needed to prevail upon the fugitives to "lay down their arms," and the whole story may be safely assumed to be

* "Pio Nono, e l'Italia, Milano, 1848."

apocryphal. But there is reason to believe that Archbishop Mastai did what he could to save many of the insurgents from their pursuers. And there is one story which has acquired a great degree of currency, and may very likely be true.

It is said that when the pursuit after those who had been compromised in the rebellion was very hot, a police agent, who had expended immense zeal and labour on the completion of a list of them, brought the paper in much triumph to the Archbishop. The latter, standing by the fire as he carefully read the document, looked with a smile, as the story goes, into the face of the agent, when he had conned it; and saying, "My good friend, you do not seem to have any idea of your own trade—or of mine! When the wolf is about to make a raid upon the fold, he does not begin by telling the shepherd," quietly dropped the fatal paper into the fire. It is added that this method of playing the part of a bishop did not at all satisfy Gregory the Sixteenth, and that Monsignore Mastai was summoned to Rome to give an account of his conduct.

If the anecdote has any truth in it, it is certain

that he did not find any great difficulty in making his peace with the Pontiff. For on the 17th of December, 1832, Monsignore Mastai was promoted to the Bishopric of Imola.

CHAPTER V.

PROMOTION TO THE BISHOPRIC OF IMOLA.—CONDITIONS OF THE SEE.—MAINSPRING IN THE CHARACTER OF MASTAI.—HIS CONDUCT AT IMOLA, AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE DIOCESE.—CONTRADICTIONS AND CONTRASTS IN THE ACCOUNTS.—HIS EFFORTS AND MEASURES FOR THE AMELIORATION OF THE CITY.—VAGABOND CHILDREN.—PROVISION FOR SEMINARISTS.—SOCIAL DUTIES EXPECTED OF A BISHOP.—DIFFICULTIES IN PERFORMING THEM.—ANECDOTES OF HIS LIFE AT IMOLA.—THE STORY OF THE JUDGE MONTANI.—INSINCERITY OF MASTAI'S CHARACTER.—AN INCIDENT OF THE CARNIVAL OF 1846 AT IMOLA.—ANECDOTE OF THE GONFALONIERE OF IMOLA AND THE BISHOP.

On the 17th of December, 1832, as has been said, Monsignore Giovanni Mastai was promoted by Gregory the Sixteenth from the Archbishopric of Spoleto to the Bishopric of Imola. "Promotion" from an archbishop to a bishopric appears strange to English ideas, which still attach a meaning to ecclesiastical terms more in accordance with their original significance than is the case in Italy. But in Italy

the case is not uncommon. The fact of the matter is simply that the diocese of Imola is a much more important one than that of Spoleto, and the revenues of it were considerably larger. And to the latter circumstance doubtless was due the fact that it was a received thing among the prescriptions of the Curia Apostolica, that the incumbent of the see of Imola should be considered as entitled to a Cardinal's Hat. The promotion from Spoleto to Imola therefore opened to Mastai, in his fortieth year, the door to the supreme power in the Church.

Imola, situated on the old Flaminian road, on the coast of the Adriatic, a little to the southward of Bologna, in the midst of a fertile plain, is the centre of one of the richest, instead of one of the poorest, districts of the Papal dominions, as Spoleto is. It is a far more active and more thriving, but also a more turbulent community, than that of stony little Spoleto, amid its mountains. Pius the Seventh had been Bishop of Imola.

There can be little doubt that Mastai was selected for the see of Imola because he had dealt successfully with the insurgents at Spoleto, and had won a certain amount of popularity with the Liberals. Gregory the Sixteenth might have been displeased with the

Archbishop's summary method of dealing with the list of the compromised, which had been so carefully prepared by the agents of the police. But Imola was in the midst of the most disturbed and disaffected districts, and it was important to have a man there whose antecedents did not place him at a disadvantage in carrying out the conciliatory policy with which the Papal Government were attempting to efface the memory of the severities by which the revolt had been repressed.

And unquestionably the choice of Mastai for the purpose was a judicious one. He had at Spoleto shown himself as kind and merciful to the conquered rebels as the necessities of his position would admit; and in his new and more important post his heart was set on securing and increasing the popularity which was attached to his name. Conciliation was the order of the day; and Mastai desired nothing more than to make himself acceptable to the men of both parties.

For the mainspring of this man's character, the ruling passion, which has been the true moving power alike in every portion of his strangely varied career, is the love of approbation. It is a passion which is connected on its better side with many ex-

cellent and amiable qualities; and on its worser side with many that are the reverse. In Mastai's case it reached both upwards and downwards. It permeated his entire idiosyncrasy. It prompted him to swagger, in the streets of Sinigaglia, with a cigar in his mouth and a fly-away crimson kerchief around his neck, and to summon an Œcumenical Council at the Vatican. It made him a melodramatic dandy in his youngster days, a melodramatic bishop in his manhood, and a melodramatic octogenarian Pontiff! The desire to figure advantageously before the eyes of men has never for an instant been dead within him. The scarlet cap and striped trousers of sixty years since might have been seen reproduced in the admirably artistic "get-up" which showed the fine-looking old man to the utmost advantage, when he received the Spanish pilgrims the other day.

The question of questions as regards a man thus eager for admiration, is, by whom is he anxious to be admired? By the great and good, or by the little and worthless? Is the *laudari a laudato viro* his passion, or merely the *laudari?* It is to be feared that the latter and simpler form of administering praise has always been, in default of better aliment, an acceptable gratification to the all-devouring vanity

of Giovanni Mastai, as of Pius the Ninth. To be praised and admired by all men, women, and children has ever been as the breath of life to him. And the main direction of the course of his life has always been determined by the desire for it. Not that it is intended to be asserted that the sentiment of duty has been without influence on him. Far from it! But his conceptions of his duty, his modes of viewing the requirements of the various positions in which he has been placed, have been modified and coloured by the craving for the applause of the audience before which he was performing.

There is no reason to doubt that he went to Imola fully purposing to do his duty in the difficult task assigned to him. He began by presenting himself to his new "audience" in full episcopal vestments, mitre and all, in the pulpit, having made his entry into the city, and proceeded "processionally" to the Cathedral, on the first day of Lent. The effect of so unusual a Bishop's "first appearance" made a prodigious effect. The Cathedral was crowded to its utmost capacity. And when the handsome new Bishop proceeded to address the multitude with his magnificent voice, which filled every angle of the building, speaking of the reforms which were needed in the

diocese, and of his hopes to accomplish much good by the co-operation and assistance of those who heard him, he carried all the congregation with him, and had already done much towards making himself popular in the city. And if the Imolese were disposed to form a good opinion of their new Bishop, he was on his part delighted and excited by his reception, and retired amid the applause of the multitude to his episcopal palace, animated by a determination to do his utmost for the benefit of so dear and appreciative a population.

There are many stories told of his special acts of charity and beneficence at Imola, which are related in a tone having so strong a flavour of the *Acta Sanctorum*, that they do not seem, at least to heretic ears, to have the ring of truth in them; and we shall probably run little risk of committing injustice if we consider them to belong to the category of pious frauds. On the other hand, writers whose purpose of vilifying is as unmistakably pronounced as that of the authors on the other side is to glorify, relate, with all particulars of places and persons, a variety of scandalous historiettes, which would go to show that the Bishop had as little scruple in breaking his own vows as in inducing others, whose con-

duct it was his duty to watch over, to break theirs. But there is reason to believe that these stories have as little foundation in fact as those of an opposite character. And it is only fair to observe that those who have painted the Bishop of Imola as a saint, wrote much more immediately after the time to which their stories refer; while those who represent him as having been very much the reverse, are men who have written at a later day, when the Pope had become odious to Italian Liberals. Honestly, I believe the one class of writers and the other to be equally unscrupulous and untrustworthy.

Upon the whole there is, I think, little reason to doubt that he here also discharged the functions to which he had been appointed zealously and conscientiously. Certainly he exerted himself to ameliorate the condition of the poorest classes of the community in the city. "In Imola at that time," we are told,* "there were a great number of abandoned children, who passed the days and nights on the steps of the churches and other public buildings, holding out the hand of beggary to the passer-by, and amid the surroundings of so abject a life, lost to every sentiment of morality and decency."

* "Pio Nono e l'Italia," p. 61.

There is no reason whatever to believe that Imola, a comparatively small city in the midst of an agricultural district, could have been worse in this respect than the other cities of the peninsula generally. Beggary is, in truth, the canker of all of them, especially in the ex-Papal States. But the state of things may probably have been worse there than at Spoleto, which is the centre of a much sparser population. At all events, the new Bishop was struck by the deplorable spectacle, as his predecessors had not been, and he set himself to remedy it. He put aside a thousand crowns to provide board and lodging for these outcasts, and appointed seven ecclesiastics and as many sisters of charity to go through the city continually, gather all such vagabond children, and place them in the workshops of responsible persons in order that they might be taught some trade or handicraft. Further, as a prize for such of his little pensioners as showed themselves most willing to turn the opportunities afforded them to good account, he offered to clothe at his own cost the best among them. It will be observed that for the working of this beneficent and simple scheme, a little exercise of despotic absolutism was needed. During the thirteen years that Mastai

was Bishop of Imola, from forty to sixty children were thus clothed every year.

He is remembered at Imola also for other good works, which do not belong to the category of the apocryphal. There is, or was, a large ecclesiastical seminary in the town, as in most other episcopal cities of Italy, which was much frequented by the sons of the small farmers of the surrounding district. The original and primary scope of this and other such seminaries was to educate children with a view to the priesthood; and the education given was wholly and exclusively adapted to that end. But it entirely suited the policy and ideas of the Pontifical Government that such schools should be the only ones used by the population for the acquirement of any instruction above the most elementary catechising, which in the great majority of cases failed to reach even the point of ability to read. In a social grade much higher than that for which such catechising was provided, it was at that time, and for many a year afterwards, deemed and maintained *totidem verbis*, that it was "shameful"—"*una cosa vergognosa*"—for a girl to know how to write, the theory being, that if she did she would infallibly profit by the capability to write love billets and

make assignations! And it is intelligible that rulers, who took this view of human affairs and of their subjects, should have thought that their own sacerdotal agents were the only safe guardians of the dangerous tree of knowledge. Lads, therefore, who were in nowise intended for the ecclesiastical career were encouraged to attend the episcopal seminaries; and the practice of the people to send their sons to these establishments, and the vested rights claimed by the clergy in consequence, constitute at the present day one of the greatest difficulties which the Italian minister of public instruction has to contend with.

The farmers around Imola used to send their sons, not as inmates, but as day-scholars, to the episcopal seminary. And the parents, on their farms at a distance from the town, had of course very little means of exercising any control over the boys thus sent into the town. And the streets were infested accordingly by crowds of young truants, getting into mischief of all sorts and picking up an education worse even than that which they would have obtained at the seminary. The Bishop set himself therefore to remedy this evil also; and with this view caused a building to be erected in the imme-

diate vicinity of the seminary, where an asylum and a meal was provided for these scholars from the country at a very moderate charge.

In another department of the duties which belonged to his office, it may readily be believed that Mastai was, as his eulogists assert, eminently successful. It was one for which he was especially well adapted.

Under an ecclesiastical government the functions of a Bishop are naturally more extensive than we, or the Italians of the present day, are in the habit of considering them. He was expected to preside not only over the Church, but over the city to which he was appointed; to be the leader of society as well as the head of his clergy. And in the days when Gregory the Sixteenth sat on the papal throne, and Mastai was Bishop of Imola—disaffected, turbulent, rebellious Imola — this duty became at once an important and a difficult one. The Papal Government had repressed the revolt by the aid of Austrian bayonets, and when left to deal at its discretion with the enemies which its own strength had been insufficient to quell, it had shown little mercy in striking the prostrate. But the work was now done, or the Government flattered itself that it was done,

and conciliation was the order of the day. Not only the punishments inflicted by the Government, but in a yet greater degree the modes by means of which those punishments had been awarded and distributed —the wholesale use of espionage and secret information—had left a crop of hatreds and vengeance only waiting for an opportunity to sate itself, which made the principal feature and characteristic of the society of the time.

To smooth these away, to bring the opposing parties together so far as it might be found possible, and to preach by every available means the doctrine of "Let bygones be bygones!"—this was what was expected of the Bishop of Imola, and what, as may be believed, he in some degree succeeded in achieving. It was a work well adapted to his powers. To be the common mediator, to be the friend and adviser of all parties, and to be popular alike with Liberals and Retrogrades, this was his ambition and his aim, pursued, not always, yet frequently successfully. His reception rooms at the episcopal palace were open equally to men of all parties; and sometimes social ingredients unmixable enough would meet there.

There was a story current in the early days of his

papacy which was, as is within the memory of the present writer, very generally believed, and which would go to show both that the Bishop's drawing-room was not altogether a safe social atmosphere for the Liberals, and that the old accusations of insincerity which meet one again and again at different points of the Pontiff's career, are not unfounded in fact. It is certain that the Bishop's course of conduct at Imola earned for him a character for Liberalism which, as will presently be seen, all but cost him the Papacy; and that it was the high ecclesiastical and retrograde party in the city which was discontented with his conduct, not so much in the administration of the see as in his social relations. Yet the story I am alluding to seems to prove that his real sympathies were rather with them than with their opponents. It is related that, among the Liberal frequenters of the Bishop's *salons*, there was a judge of some subsidiary tribunal, whose known sympathies with the Liberal party made him exceedingly apprehensive that he might be turned out of his place by the authorities at head-quarters. He had a wife and children, and was a very poor man. A little while previously he would certainly never have dreamed of applying to a Bishop for his good

offices; but Mastai's open house and open manners led him to think that this Bishop was not as other Bishops were, and, in a word, he determined to ask the kindly prelate to say a good word for him at Rome. The Bishop received him with the most effusive kindness. "To be sure, my good Montani!" —Bernardo Montani the judge's name was—"why, you are the sort of man we want in these days; of course—I shall be only too happy! A line to Bernetti"—Bernetti was Gregory the Sixteenth's Secretary of State—"a line to Bernetti will put all that matter straight. So you think of going to Rome yourself? Yes; that will be the best plan. When do you start? To-morrow evening! Very good! Come to me to-morrow about mid-day, and you shall find the letter ready for you!"

So the judge bows himself out with a torrent of thanks insufficient to express his overflowing gratitude, makes his preparations for the journey—which was a long and tedious affair in those days—and waits upon the good Bishop punctually at noon on the next day.

As he passes in to the Bishop's study he sees two letters exactly like each other lying, one on a console table near the door, and the other on the Bishop's

writing-table. The Bishop, very busy and in a great hurry, far too much pressed for time to listen to his visitor's renewed protestations of gratitude, gives him the letter which was on the study-table, bids him good speed, and dismisses him with a benediction.

Montani started for Rome that night, but, as ill-luck would have it, fell ill on the road, had to lie up, and was detained for ten days. At the end of that time he resumed his Romeward journey, duly arrived at the end of it, and lost no time in presenting himself, letter in hand, to the Cardinal Secretary. Not a little to his surprise, he was received with the most cordial kindness. Bernetti too was full of business—had no time for talking with a provincial magistrate, but assured him, with cordial hand-pressing, that it was all right! The dear, good Bishop of Imola had already written to him! Montani had but to return to his duties at Imola, and he would find everything arranged to his satisfaction. So the provincial puts himself into the diligence again, and as he jogged along wearily homeward at the post pace of four or five miles an hour, full of gratitude to the dear, good Bishop, and longing for the moment when he shall tell the wife at home that their troubles are over, he

thought to himself that he would look at the Bishop's letter—which had remained in his hands when Bernetti had declared that it was unneeded, being merely a duplicate of the one he had already received by post from the Bishop—and see what it was which had operated such a miracle in his favour. He broke the seal, and read a communication which informed the Secretary of State that he, the Bishop, had found himself obliged to give a letter of recommendation to one Bernardo Montani; that the Secretary could well understand how, in the Bishop's difficult position, where it was necessary to at least appear to be all things to all men, such things could hardly be avoided; but that the fact was that this Bernardo Montani was one of the most pestiferous Liberals in Imola, and if his Eminence the Secretary could find any means by which the fellow could be prevented from ever showing his face in Imola again, he would do both the Bishop and the city a signal service!

The dear, good Bishop, in short, had made a mistake between his two letters—had sent by post that which had been intended to be handed to Montani, and had put into the judge's hands that which was intended to convey his real sentiments to the Cardinal Secretary!

I am afraid that those who best know the character of Pius the Ninth would consider this story, which was certainly very generally believed, to bear all the marks of probability. It is likely enough that the Bishop did deem the judge Montani a dangerous man, of whom Imola would be well rid. But he had not the moral courage to say so openly; he could not make up his mind to the loss of popularity, which would have been the price of his answering Montani's application by an expression of his true sentiments. So he endeavoured to accomplish the feat of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds by the expedient of a falsehood, which, it may be feared, has at no period of his life appeared to him a prohibitive price to pay for a desired advantage.

That the task assigned to him at Imola was, however, an arduous one, may be in some degree gathered from a very striking and melodramatic incident, which throws a curious light on the social conditions which were the product of the recent political disturbances. The circumstance occurred during the Carnival of the last year of his stay at Imola, 1846. It was late in the evening of one of the last days of the Carnival. All the city was in the streets, shout-

ing, roaring, and enjoying the saturnalia in Italian fashion. Large numbers of masked figures were to be seen in all the thoroughfares, and especially in the open space in front of the western doors of the cathedral. The Bishop was at his devotions at a fald-stool in front of the high altar. It is highly characteristic of the man that he should have been there so occupied at such a time. He had a private chapel in his episcopal residence, where no crowd could intrude, and where he might have given himself up to his devotions in peace. Why should he have placed himself alone in the empty church, with the great west doors open in front of the high altar, while a bacchanalian crowd were making night hideous with their revelry around the doors? Why? Any ballet-master or stage-manager could give you the answer at once. Because the *tableau* produced was a most effective one—because it was a telling situation! The mad crowd, in their hour of licensed revelry, are filling the piazza on the outside of the door. Their pastor, kneeling before the altar (with his episcopal vestments admirably arranged in the most graceful folds, it may be safely sworn), is interceding at the throne of grace for his misguided flock! Very effective indeed! But all of a sudden the

interest of the spectacle is heightened by an incident which elevates the merely melodramatic situation into the realms of real tragedy. A sudden outcry is heard from the piazza. The well-known squeaking accents of the Carnival hubbub are in an instant changed for the outcry of many voices in a quite different tone. In a word, one masker had been stabbed to death by another on the very steps of the church! The masking days of Carnival were always a great time for such gratification of stored-up grudges.

It cannot be doubted that the Bishop was unfeignedly sorry for the fate of the victim, and shocked at the crime. But it was a fine opportunity for the posture-making which is dear to the Pontiff's soul. He rises from his knees and comes out to kneel by the side of the dying man on the church steps, and so hears the last confession of a penitent in a *domino*, and shrives him amid a surrounding crowd disguised in their gay dresses of every colour of the rainbow!

There is another anecdote belonging to this period which tells more pleasantly for the Bishop than that story of the Liberal judge, but which is not less characteristic of the man. It would seem that the

Bishop's difficulties consisted by no means solely in reconciling the minds of the Liberals among his flock. Every advance he made for that purpose was resented by the strong adherents of the Clerical party. And he had quite as much difficulty in keeping on good terms with them as with their opponents. One of the most violent of these enemies of the Bishop on the score of his too great liberality was the "Gonfaloniere"—the mayor as we should say—whose prejudices no efforts on the Bishop's part had been able to smooth away. But priest-like, he had not found it so difficult to ingratiate himself with the mayor's wife. The lady admired the saintly Bishop, and grieved much over the perversity of her husband, who would not be reconciled to so good a man! Under these circumstances about a month before Gregory's death, the lady paid a visit to the Bishop, and laid before him a plan she had conceived for the reconciliation of the Mayor and the Bishop. She informed the latter that she was with child, and said that if his Eminence—Mastai had been created Cardinal by Gregory the Sixteenth in 1841—would condescend to be the godfather of her child, all political differences would disappear before such an honour and such a tie.

"If that is all that is needed," said the Bishop, "I am perfectly ready to stand as godfather to your child."

"But that is not all the difficulty," returned the lady; "my husband will never be brought to make the request to you."

"Well, well!" rejoined the Bishop; "we won't let that stand in the way! If he won't ask me, I will ask him!"

Accordingly he took an early opportunity, a day or two afterwards, after a council concerning the affairs of a hospital, at which the two authorities had met each other, to take the Gonfaloniere aside, and after congratulating him upon the approaching event, told him that he should be happy to officiate as godfather. The Gonfaloniere, utterly taken aback, and forgetting himself in his amazement and annoyance, cried, "You! a Liberal! you godfather to my child! Never!" and with that he turned his back on the Bishop, who, Cardinal as he was, had to put up with the affront. Very shortly afterwards came the news of Gregory's death; and Cardinal Mastai left Imola for Rome, to attend the Conclave, in which, as we all know, he was elected Pope. And immediately after his election the Gonfaloniere

of Imola received a note with these words: "You refused to have the Bishop of Imola for godfather to your son; will you accept the Bishop of Rome?"

Of course the Gonfaloniere hurried to Rome as fast as post-horses could carry him, and made his peace with the new Pontiff, who here again found an opportunity for "striking an attitude!"

CHAPTER VI.

UNIVERSAL DISAFFECTION IN THE ROMAN STATES.—CARDINALS ON WHOM THE HOPES OF THE LIBERALS RESTED.—MARCO MINGHETTI.—PETITION TO THE CARDINALS.—PERIOD BETWEEN THE DEATH OF GREGORY AND BEGINNING OF THE CONCLAVE. QUESTION BEFORE THE SACRED COLLEGE.—RELIGIOUS FEELING HAD NO PART IN THE MOVEMENT.—NEXT CONCLAVE DIFFERENT IN THIS RESPECT. — CARDINAL MICARA. — HIS CHARACTER.—ANECDOTE OF HIM.—CARDINAL GIZZI.—ANECDOTE OF HIS CANDIDATURE—GIZZI THE POPULAR FAVOURITE. —AUSTRIA'S UNREADINESS. — CARDINAL GAYSRUCK. — HIS BOOTLESS JOURNEY.—CONCLAVE EXPECTED TO BE A LONG ONE.

GREGORY THE SIXTEENTH was maintained on his throne during his reign of fifteen years and a quarter solely by the force of Austrian bayonets. The reports sent by the cardinals and prelates entrusted with the government of the various provinces to head-quarters at Rome abundantly prove the truth of this assertion. To cite these here would occupy more space than could be allowed to

the subject, and would but be a manifold reiteration of the statement, that the entire population was irreconcilably hostile to the Apostolic Government.* The revolt had indeed been crushed by the enormously superior force of the Austrian troops. But disaffection was in no degree extinguished. Conspiracy was chronic in all the cities of the Pontifical dominions. Discovery, repression, and punishment were the principal occupations of the Papal Government and its agents during the whole of Gregory's reign, which may be said to have been one long struggle with conspiracy and revolution. The number of condemnations, in very many cases to death, which may be seen registered with the names of the victims in tables printed at the end of the second volume of the work referred to in the note, are alone sufficient to show that the countries subjected to the government of the Apostolic Court were in a condition which could not have endured, but for the overpowering pressure of an external force.

Such was the condition of things when Gregory

* The documents referred to will be found printed in the first part of the work of Sig. Achille Gennarelli, "Il Governo Pontificio e lo Stato Romano," in two vols. imp. 8vo., Prato, 1860.

the Sixteenth died on the 1st of June, 1846. The periods intervening between the death of one pope and the election of his successor were always in old times marked by outbreaks of turbulence and lawlessness; and it might have been expected that, in the then condition of men's minds, the interregnum succeeding to the death of Gregory would have afforded an opportunity not likely to have been neglected by those who were anxious for the overthrow of the Papal Government. The immediate effect of Gregory's death, however, was to produce a contrary result; and the fact is a remarkable proof of the reasonableness and moderation of the men who were influential with the masses of the people. The death of the Pope afforded a hope that better things might be expected from his successor. There were men in the Sacred College of whom it was hoped that they would, if elected, inaugurate an era of reforms and improvement. Cardinal Micara, Cardinal Gizzi, Cardinal Falconieri, Cardinal Soglia (who, as Bishop of Osimo, himself received the names to be attached to the petition which it was determined should be presented to the Conclave), and Cardinal Mastai, were such men. The petition in question was prepared and signed by a vast number of persons in all parts

of the Apostolic dominions. First among those who took a leading part in promoting the movement in the important city of Bologna, I find the name of Marco Minghetti, who, young as he was, was mainly instrumental in influencing his fellow-citizens to adopt a path of moderation and legality. An historian,* writing a few years after the events here referred to, says that Marco Minghetti "exercised an increasing and beneficent influence on his fellow-citizens by his remarkable talent, by acquirements truly extraordinary at his time of life, by his natural eloquence, and by moral qualities which rendered him dear and valued by all." These words were written before the subject of them had attained any such position as might lead his contemporaries to flatter him.

The period of nine clear days which, according to papal prescription, elapsed between the death of the Pope and the commencement of the Conclave for the election of his successor, was a time of far more than usual anxiety, not only to the populations who were awaiting the appointment of their new ruler, but to the whole of Europe, and in a yet greater degree to the members of the Sacred College themselves. The

* Gualterio, "Ultimi Revolgimenti Italiani," vol. iv. p. 753.

conditions of the problem before them, so far as the general principles on which it had to be solved went, were marked with unusual clearness and distinctness. Were they to choose a man who, continuing, but with greater energy and more force of character than were his, the policy and traditions of the late Pontiff and his predecessors, would uphold the old principles and practices of despotic government with a high hand, conceding nothing to the spirit of the times, nothing to the demands of modern intelligence, and trusting to the irresistible material force of Austria? Or were they to select a man to rule over themselves and the Church whose antecedents made it probable that he would attempt at least to reform the administration, and conciliate the populations? This question divided the Sacred College broadly into two parties. But the matter in hand was, of course, infinitely complicated by questions and doubts as to the course most likely to secure either of these ends.

One thing which it is very necessary to bear in mind in considering this episode of the history of the Apostolic See, is that religious questions, religious sentiments, religious zeal, or religious doubts entered into the matter not at all. The religious question has of late years been so intimately connected with

political questions of all sorts, and doctrinal matters have during the last quarter of a century occupied so large a part of the thought of all of us in considering the Papacy and the relations of civil society towards it, that the above fact is liable to be forgotten. Nobody, at the epoch of which I am speaking, wanted to gainsay any of the spiritual pretensions and positions of the Church, as they then were. Of all those who were anxious, some few to overthrow, but the vast majority to reform the ecclesiastical Government, none attacked or wished to attack the spiritual Pontiff. Their resistance was to the temporal ruler. It is true that the majority of these men were either freethinkers or, in much greater number, indifferentists in matters of religion; but that was in no degree the motive of their conduct. The ease with which this part of the matter was passed over, or passed by, is remarkably characteristic of all the Latin races. A people of Teutonic race could not have been engaged in an attempt to throw off the yoke of a ruler whose claims went to the imposing of shackles in matters spiritual infinitely more intolerable than his temporal tyranny, without radically probing and questioning the grounds of the former. No such logical necessity pressed on the

minds and consciences of the Italians. It was long since the Church had shown itself a rigorous persecutor of any who were willing to submit, without questioning or discontent, to its temporal rule. There appeared to be no urgent necessity for taking any trouble about throwing off a yoke which sits very lightly on Italian minds. Add to which, vast numbers of Italian "indifferentists" in matters of religion, when they are on the bed of death, feel the need of a priest to help them to pass the great gulf. *Now,* of course, everything is very different in these respects. It has been discovered that the spiritual and the temporal despotism are so mutually interdependent that one cannot be successfully resisted without resisting the other; and that religious doctrine has been fashioned into a very dangerous weapon for the overturning of all that Italy has accomplished in the temporal and political order of things.

It is in this respect that the next Conclave will most materially differ from the last. In many other respects the situation is very analogous. It is once again a question of "nailing colours to the mast," or "transaction;" of war to the knife, or more or less sincere conciliation; of refusing to yield an inch, at

the risk (denied to exist, however, by some of those who have to make the decision) of utter rout and overthrow, or of giving a little to preserve the rest. But the world has progressed since the death of Gregory the Sixteenth. Both parties to the great contest have thought much since that time. Both have examined what amount of under-pinning, in respect of postulate and theory, their respective systems require. And one result is that doctrinal questions contribute their quota to the considerations which will decide the result of the coming Conclave.

The most remarkable among the Cardinals who have been mentioned above as those on whom the hopes of the Liberal party were fixed, was the Dean of the Sacred College, Ludovico Micara, the general of the Capuchins. Here is an account of his personal appearance by a contemporary writer:*

"Though well-nigh bedridden from extreme age, his mind was still vigorous and prompt, his blood always boiling, his tongue as ready and powerful as it had ever been. From out that pale and fleshless face, which was rendered more venerable by the whiteness of his hair and long beard, which, white as snow, came down to the middle of his breast, flashed

* Gualterio, Op. cit.

two lightning-like eyes that seemed still full of youth, and accompanied the impetuous torrent of his eloquence with an expression at one moment of fervid earnestness, and at another of the bitterest sarcasm."

He was a man whose mind and sympathies were singularly compounded of the democratic instincts of a mendicant friar, and the autocratic overbearing love and abuse of power, which was the speciality of his own idiosyncrasy. He had always lived on bad terms with the Court, the shifty and insincere policy of which he despised. His own mode of life was austere to asceticism, severe in its rigid uprightness; and his temper would have disinclined him to admit that *summum jus* could ever be other than the aim of a judge and ruler. The people hoped much from his elevation to the throne, should such be the result of the Conclave; for the old Capuchin had not hesitated, both in his sermons and in his conversation, to blame the proceedings of the Government, and to express his ardent desires for the improvement of the state of things in every part of the peninsula. In the meetings of the Cardinals during the days previous to the commencement of the Conclave, very high words had passed between him and Lambruschini, the late Secretary of State; and this opposi-

tion and hostility to the much-hated Secretary had the effect of powerfully increasing the popular feeling in favour of Micara. The temper of the man may be estimated from the characteristic reply made by him from his carriage-window, as he was going to the Conclave, to the populace, who were shouting their good wishes for his election: "Think well what it is you are wishing, my men! With me for Pope, there will be no want of bread—or of the gallows!" Gregory the Sixteenth had a great dislike, and probably fear, of Micara, and always spoke of him among those around him as "Ludovicaccio."

But the man who probably united in the greatest number the suffrages and good wishes of the liberal party was the Cardinal Pasquale Gizzi, who was Legate at Forli. And it is certainly much more in his favour that he should have been popular after having occupied such a post, than anything that can be said of men like Micara, Soglia, and Mastai, who had never been called to any position which necessarily showed them to the people as administrators of the detested Government of the Roman Curia. It was, however, especially his conduct in that invidious position which had endeared him to the Liberals. When the military commissions, appointed

for the punishment of the insurgents of 1831, which studded the country with gibbets, crowded the galleys with prisoners, and filled Europe with exiles and almost every other home in the Papal States with mourning, were spreading terror and desolation throughout the country, Gizzi protested against the entry of any of these commissioners into his Legation of Forli, declaring that he could be answerable for the conduct of the people. And Massimo d'Azeglio, in his then recently published book, the "Cose di Romagna," the enormous popularity and circulation of which made any opinion expressed by the author very influential, speaks with high praise of the Legate of Forli's conduct on that occasion. He certainly was the man to whom the wishes of the Romans pointed, and when an absurd mistake led it to be supposed in Rome from one evening at sundown till about midnight that he had been elected, the rejoicing throughout Rome was enthusiastic.

Cardinal Gizzi was a man of small stature. Now it happens that three sets of pontifical vestments are ordered at the commencement of a Conclave, a bigger size, a second or middling size, and a smaller one. It happened also that the tailor, thinking like the rest of the world that the Conclave would last

much longer than it did, had sent in only the large and second sized garments when the election was completed. And the small-sized vestment having been demanded, doubtless by the functionary whose perquisite the two unused sets would become, and this demand having come to the knowledge of anxious waiters for news, was seized on as a proof that Cardinal Gizzi was elected.

Of the other Cardinals who have been named, little was known beyond the fact that they had been humane and beneficent in the administration of the dioceses entrusted to them. Mastai had acquired more distinctly than either of them the reputation of being "Liberal," to which the fact that his family were known to belong to that political party had contributed. He had also more markedly than either of the others forgathered with Liberals, and been spoken of as a protector of many among them. But in fact little was known of him publicly beyond the fact that he had *not* done anything to render himself unacceptable to the nation, and that his name was not associated with any of the measures or conduct which had accumulated so terrible a mass of hatred against the governing caste of the clergy generally.

On the whole, Gizzi was the man to whom the wishes of the Liberal party pointed, when the Cardinals went into Conclave; and it was very confidently expected that he would be the successful candidate.

It was a very remarkable circumstance that Austria was wholly unprepared for the event of Gregory's death. She behaved, as one writer says, as if she had thought that he was immortal! No Cardinal in her interest was in Rome with directions respecting the application of the "veto" she claimed to exercise. No intrigues of any sort had been set on foot by her with the view of influencing the Conclave. Cardinal Gaysruck, the Archbishop of Milan, was the person entrusted with the ecclesiastical policies, views and authority of Austria. And he remained quietly ruling his diocese in Lombardy, instead of plotting and watching at Rome! And what seems stranger still, he was not in possession of any instructions from his Court in view of the death of the Pope; but when that event, very suddenly at last, occurred, had to send to Vienna, and await his instructions thence. And those were the days when the possibilities of governmental and diplomatic action were limited by the capacities of post-horses!

It is probable that Austria's recent experience of the papal incapability of standing alone, of the absolute necessity of recurring to her for the material force which alone keeps the Pope on his throne, and of the ease with which she could supply this at need, engendered in the minds of her statesmen the security of contempt, and led her to think that the placing one imbecile Italian priest on the throne rather than another could make but small difference to her. It is probable also that she imagined the retrograde, no-concessions party in the Conclave to be so greatly in the majority, that no interference was necessary. Certain it is that the days went on, and Cardinal Gaysruck got no orders! It was in vain that the Italian friends of Austria and the Austrian view of things urged the aged Cardinal to start for Rome. Like a true son of Austria the Unready, he said that there was plenty of time, that in any case it was of no use for him to go without his instructions, and that he should get to Rome quite in time to show them how to elect a Pope.

At last his instructions arrived from Vienna, and he set out for Rome, carrying with him Austria's exclusion of Gizzi or Mastai. But he had hardly

passed the Tuscan frontier before he was met by the news that the Pope was elected, and that Mastai was the man! He had to turn about and go back to Milan, a somewhat ridiculous spectacle! The Romans ironically dedicated to him the first portrait published of the new Pope; and he got back to his diocese only to die the following November, his death having been hastened either by the fatigue of the journey or by the vexation attendant on the circumstances of it.

Although the general expectation, or at least the general hope, was that Cardinal Gizzi would be elected, the universal belief was that the Conclave would be a long one; an expectation which, like so many others respecting the Papal Conclaves, was very remarkably falsified by the event.

CHAPTER VII.

POPULAR INTEREST IN THE CONCLAVE.—LAMBRUSCHINI.—HIS SUPPORTERS WISER IN THEIR GENERATION THAN THEIR OPPONENTS.—DELAY OF CARDINAL GAYSRUCK FATAL TO HIS PARTY.—THE FIRST SCRUTINY.—THE SECOND SCRUTINY.—THE THIRD SCRUTINY.—CARDINAL AMAT.—THE FOURTH SCRUTINY.—MASTAI SCRUTATOR.—THE ELECTION.

NEVER before, probably, in all the long history of the papal elections, had so large and especially so anxious a crowd gathered to gaze at the procession of Cardinals as they went into Conclave as that which was collected on the open space of the Monte Cavallo and around the doors of the Quirinal to see the fifty Cardinals go to their fateful task on the evening of the 14th of June, 1846; for the interest which the people took in the election and the result of it was of a different nature from any which had attended the choosing of former Pontiffs. It was no longer a question of the ambition of this man or of that, or of

the interests of this or that crowd of followers, retainers, and hangers-on of every degree, which was to be decided; the hopes and fears of an entire people were waiting on the same issue. Are we to be condemned to continue to suffer as we have suffered hitherto, or is a new era to be opened, a new hope to be born to us? The old turbulences, the old party cries, seem like the sport of joyous boys at some rough game of horse-play in comparison with the earnest and vital hopes and fears which were to be decided by the action of the Conclave at the death of Gregory the Sixteenth.

The hopes of the Retrograde and high Absolutist party were fixed on Lambruschini, that Archbishop of Genoa who, as we have seen, was Mastai's host when he was in want of a lodging on the eve of embarking for South America, and who subsequently became Gregory the Sixteenth's Secretary of State. That circumstance was now the main difficulty in his way. It was a thing unprecedented that a papal secretary of state should become the successor of the Pope he had served in that capacity. So recognised a fact was the inadmissibility of such a combination, that the enunciation of it has become axiomatic in Conclave language in the saying, "Nemo bis Papa"

—"No one can be twice Pope," which Lambruschini, had he been elected, would have been to a greater extent than almost any previous secretary, so entirely had he wielded the power of the Papacy during the latter years of Gregory.

Nevertheless, the chances seemed at first to be much in his favour. The diplomatists of the European Powers were all, with the notable exception of Pellegrino Rossi, then ambassador from France, desirous that he should be chosen. With singular ignorance of the real condition of the country to which they were accredited, they deemed that such was the best hope for the tranquillity of Europe. They saw the steam issuing out from every possible cranny of the machine, and, alarmed at the phenomenon were anxious to clap extra weight on the safety-valve.

The Cardinals who were anxious for his election were wiser in their generation than the diplomatists; and wiser, also, so far as the perception of the means for securing the end which they desired went, than the liberalising Cardinals. If, indeed, the object of these latter is to be considered to have been limited to so far tiding over the present difficulties as to procure for themselves a possibility of enjoying their own good things for the term of their natural lives,

not only in comfort, but with a certain amount of praise and goodwill on the part of mankind, then indeed the line they took may be deemed to have been wisely chosen; but if they imagined that they were by their Liberalism obtaining a better chance for the ulterior permanency of their institution, they deluded themselves and acted, though not so short-sightedly as the diplomatists, still under a very mistaken estimate of the compatibilities of it with the exigencies of the time, the approach of which they were hastening—a truth which the "Liberal" Cardinal they did chose for Pope was not long in recognising. The friends of Lambruschini—no, the phrase is an absurd one: a Cardinal Secretary of State has no friends—the adherents of Lambruschini knew better. Their intention was that the power, dignity, and wealth of the Roman Apostolic Church and Curia should be maintained, and its permanence and durability provided for. With a full appreciation of the fatal truth of the "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint!*" they meant to nail their colours to the mast, and triumph by dint of force, or go down fighting. No doubt they greatly miscalculated the probabilities of such triumph; but it was possible, or might fairly have seemed so then. The Liberal Cardinals might

much more easily have known that their scheme of Church policy, as far as they had any, was an impossible one.

And Lambruschini was the best man the *intransigentes* had for carrying on the fight. Probably there was not a man in the College that did not hate him; for he had been Secretary of State! But for all that, he was the man they meant to make Pope. The times were too serious to think of personal likings, or even of time-honoured Conclave rules. "Plenty of time! I'll go to Rome, and show those youngsters how to manage a papal election!" said old Cardinal Gaysruck at Milan, alluding, doubtless, not to his colleagues of the Sacred College, but to the diplomatic body at Rome. And if he had been a little more prompt, there can be very small doubt that Lambruschini would have been elected. But the other side were well aware that their chance depended on prompt action. There were, as has been seen, several Cardinals, one of whom the Liberals might have selected. Had they lost time in trying the strength of these one against the other in a succession of scrutinies, they would have lost their chance; for the Absolutists were expecting reinforcements from various quarters—Legitimists from

France, and Obscurantists of the most see-nothing sort from Naples and the far South. But neither Soglia nor Falconieri showed themselves self-seeking or obstinate. Mastai does not seem to have had any hand whatever in his own election. As for Gizzi, curiously enough, notwithstanding the very general hope and expectation "out of doors" that he would be elected, nobody in the Conclave seems to have thought of him at all.

The first scrutiny took place on the morning of the 15th. Fifteen votes were given to Lambruschini, thirteen to Mastai, five to Soglia; the other seventeen were divided among numerous Cardinals, given, as votes in the first scrutiny of a Conclave are wont to be, merely as complimentary, and without any intention of really making an election.

At the scrutiny of that evening Lambruschini had thirteen votes; Mastai, seventeen; Falconieri, four. Sixteen were still given in an objectless manner, and might still be had by either party; but enough had already taken place to show time-servers which way the wind was blowing, and to attract the worshippers of the rising sun.

At the first scrutiny of the 16th, Lambruschini had only eleven votes; Falconieri, seven; and Mastai,

twenty-seven. Thirty-four votes—only seven more than he had received—were necessary to make the election. And his star was evidently on the rise. But it was certain that several Cardinals whose votes would be given to the Obscurantist party were hastening with all possible speed towards Rome. The lapse of the hours between the morning and the evening scrutiny might change the whole condition of the Conclave. Cardinal Amat, born at Cagliari, in Sardinia, in 1796, and therefore the Pope's junior by four years, who is still living, and is now Dean of the Sacred College, was the principal leader of the party who wished to elect Mastai. His experience as a governor in Romagna, where he had got into disgrace with Gregory the Sixteenth for having moderated the rigours of the vengeance against the rebels of 1831, and on his own authority assisted some of them to escape, had led him to wish for governmental reform; and the election of the present Pope seems to have been mainly due to his activity and energy. Near as Mastai seemed to the election, the lapse of a few hours might spoil all. Bernetti was not well-disposed to ideas of reform, as how should an old Secretary of State have been? Bernetti had been Lambruschini's predecessor in that

office, and there was good ground, therefore, for supposing that he was not altogether pleased with the idea of seeing his successor ascend the throne. Amat resolved to try him, sent Cardinals Fieschi and Piccolomini to sound him and, if possible, persuade him, and succeeded in getting the promise of his vote for Mastai. Cardinals Soglia and Falconieri also advised their respective supporters to transfer their votes to Mastai.

At the close of the morning scrutiny on the 16th, which has been given, the Absolutist Cardinals of the old party returned to their cells thoughtful and downcast. The hours passed, and their friends came not! When the "In Capellam, Domini," was called for the evening scrutiny, they walked to the chapel slowly and with clouded brows. And their unfavourable previsions were increased by the contrasted bearing of the opposite party, who pressed forward towards the field of battle with all the alacrity of anticipated and almost ensured success.

The chance of the lots ordained that the three scrutators for that scrutiny on the evening of the 16th, were the Cardinals Vannicelli, a partisan of the old system, Fieschi, who had been active in preparing the triumph of Mastai, and Mastai himself.

The first opens the voting paper, and declares the vote; passes the paper to the second, who registers it; and hands it on to the third, who a second time proclaims it in a sufficiently loud voice for all in the chapel to hear, before putting the schedule on the file.

Mastai, if the accounts which have been given and accepted of what passed in the secrecy of the Conclave are true, was not aware of the almost certainty of the triumph which awaited him. He had to proclaim his own name time after time. But he had already, at the previous scrutiny, received twenty-seven votes, and there was therefore nothing remarkable in this, especially as the names of the voters still remain concealed. But when, with a few intermissions here and there, the twenty-eighth vote for Mastai had been recorded, the feeling and anxiety throughout the chapel became intense; and, as may easily be imagined, the emotion of Mastai almost overpowering. A twenty-ninth voice for Mastai! Was the game lost and won? Or was there still hope that that evening's scrutiny might be got over without an election having been consummated? A thirtieth vote for Mastai! Hearts began to beat with painful palpitation in those aged bosoms, and

lips might have been seen to blanch! As for Mastai himself, he was so overpowered by his emotions that his voice refused to do the task required of it. He sank into a seat, and implored his colleagues to break off the business in hand, to appoint another scrutator, to spare him a task which was beyond his strength. He probably forgot in that moment of agitation that any such step as those he was imploring his colleagues to take, would have vitiated the whole operation, and necessitated another scrutiny the following morning —with who knows what results! But if he forgot the fact, he was the only man there who did. His supporters gathered round him, told him to take his time, to repose awhile! The losing party stood grimly silent the while, possibly not without a lingering hope that such a weakling's emotions might absolutely have the effect of necessitating another scrutiny.

But if so they were disappointed. After a few minutes, Mastai conquered his agitation, and resumed his task.

Four more times in succession he had to call aloud that yet another vote had been given in his favour; and then the work was done.

The two hundred and sixty-second Pope was elected!

And here is a translation of the letter—a photographed facsimile of which the reader will find at the beginning of this volume, which he wrote to his brothers on the occasion:

"*16th June*, 1846.

"DEAREST BROTHERS* GIUSEPPE AND GAETANO,

"The blessed God who abases and raises up, has thought fit to lift up my lowliness to the most sublime dignity which exists on this earth—His holy will be for ever done.

"I know in some degree the well-nigh immeasurable gravity of so great a charge, and I know equally my own poverty, not to say nullity of spirit. Cause prayer to be made, and pray for me. The Conclave lasted forty-eight hours.

"If the Commune of Sinigaglia should think fit to go to any expense for making demonstrations, contrive, indeed it is my will, that the sum to be spent should be laid out in things useful for the city, according to the judgment of the mayor and aldermen.

* In the original written by mistake *fatelli* instead of *fratelli*.

"As to yourselves, dear brothers, I embrace you with all my heart in Jesu Christ, and far from exulting compassionate your brother, who gives to all of you the Apostolic Benediction.

"PIO IX."

BOOK II.

FROM HIS ELECTION TO THE PAPACY, 17TH JUNE, 1846, TO HIS FLIGHT TO GAETA, ON THE 24TH NOVEMBER, 1848.



CHAPTER I.

PROCLAMATION OF THE ELECTION.—FIRST APPEARANCE IN THE CHARACTER OF POPE.—FIRST ACTS OF THE POPE.—DISTRIBUTIONS OF MONEY.—THE CEREMONY OF THE CORONATION.—THE AMNESTY.—VISIT ON FOOT TO THE CHURCH OF THE UMILTÀ.—THE GRANTING OF THE AMNESTY.—THE CONDITIONS OF IT.—SOME REFUSED THEM.—REJOICINGS WHICH FOLLOWED THE PROCLAMATION OF THE AMNESTY.—CICERUACCHIO.—POPE'S VISIT TO THE CHURCH OF SAN VINCENZO DI PAOLI.—POPULACE TAKE THE HORSES FROM THE PAPAL CARRIAGE.—THE WRITING ON THE WALLS.—REFLECTIONS OF AUSTRIA.

It is the 17th of June, 1846, as brilliant a morning as ever was seen under the matchless Roman sky; and a clear voice announces *Urbi et Orbi*—to the city and to the world—from the balcony of the Quirinal, the advent of a new Pope-King. "*Annuncio vobis gaudium magnum*," etc. And the handsome person and pleasing face of the new Pope appears to his people, and imparts with uplifted hand and admirably dignified gesture, his blessing to the vast

crowd gathered on the wide piazza of the Monte Cavallo, in clear and ringing tones, and with a far-reaching power of voice, such as rarely if ever had been heard in Rome on a similar occasion before.

Certainly that step forth from the dim light of the Conclave into the full blaze of day, to be hailed as a god on earth by a large portion of the inhabitants of earth, must be a moment such as few mortal lives can ever experience! And probably no man ever experienced that moment, who was by temperament and character more adapted to savour all the emotions it was calculated to produce, than he who then took his place on the stage of the world, and the roll of history, as Pius the Ninth.

When Leo the Tenth, the jovial Medici, was elected, three hundred years and more ago, he said, "Since God has given us the Papacy, let us enjoy it!" But those were very pagan times, and the manifestation of the feelings of a new Pope is nowadays expected to be made in a different manner. The *episcopari nolo*, which ecclesiastical etiquette, with a singularly characteristic love for pious falsehood, requires to be pronounced by those whom the Church delights to honour, has to be uttered and acted by a new Pope in various touching and emo-

tional ways; all of which proprieties Pius the Ninth may be believed to have performed in the most unexceptional and approved manner, without any occupation of space in these pages by a reproduction of the accounts of such matters, which have been duly preserved. He is an actor of that sort which is really touched by the excellence of his own acting. When he threw himself on his knees in a passion of weeping, as per precedent, we may be sure that he not only did the thing with admirable histrionic grace and propriety, but felt all the proper sentiments, with the truth and vividness of a man endowed with a warm and feeling imagination.

But the first appearance in the character of Vicar of God on earth was a disappointment. His ear caught none of the roar of applause which it craved for. The assembled multitude was very cold. It was not that there existed any ill-will or prejudice against the man who had been elected to rule over their bodies and their souls. But, in the first place, there had been all night a general belief that Cardinal Gizzi had been elected; and the crowd was puzzled and mystified. Some thought that it was Gizzi who stood before them. There were eager questionings, explanations, a buzz of voices, but of welcoming

applause little or nothing. A second reason for this was that the Cardinal Mastai was almost unknown at Rome. The Romans felt that the announcement of his name told them nothing of all they were so eager to be informed about, and which it was so vital for them to know. The silence which smote the eager and disappointed ears of the new Pope was not a silence of disapprobation, but of doubt and suspension of judgment. Something, too, of disappointment there was; for the election of Cardinal Gizzi had been greatly desired.

Very quickly, however, information began to pour in, and the Romans began to conceive high hopes of the new Papacy. Certainly he was not a Lambruschini, or a friend of the late detested Secretary. Pleasant anecdotes came from Spoleto. Certainly he had been deemed a Liberal by the people at Imola. Excellent things began to be noised from mouth to mouth of the very first fruits of his Papacy. All pledges under fifty *baiocchi*—say two shillings—in value, at the Monte di Pietà, the great Government pawnbroking establishment at Rome, to be restored to the owners gratuitously! Fifty-three "dowers" of fifty crowns each—about ten pounds—to be distributed to as many poor Roman girls, and a

thousand "dowers" of ten crowns each to be given in the country! Six thousand crowns were distributed to the poor of Rome;—deeds recognised as proofs of angelic goodness by a population which had no glimmering of an idea of the elemental truths of political economy, or of the degree of self-denial implied in the distribution of money by a Pope!

Gradually but rapidly the name of Pio Nono was becoming popular among the Romans. On the 21st of June came the grand ceremony of the coronation in St. Peter's. But on this occasion also, though the popular manifestation of goodwill was much more decided than on the occasion of the announcement, the applause was neither general nor hearty. The Romans, it was evident, wanted yet something more before they could open their hearts to their new ruler. And murmurings, and isolated cries among the crowd, very unmistakably manifested to those who were on the look-out for such indications, what this something was—an amnesty! The number of those in prison and in exile, for political offences, was terribly large. It has been already shown that during the whole fifteen years' reign of Gregory the Sixteenth, insurrection was always in the state of an incandescent volcano, if not of one in actual erup-

tion. There were few families of the middle classes which were not suffering from the absence, either by imprisonment or exile, of some one or more of their members. An amnesty, therefore, which should cancel, as far as human power could reach, the sufferings which had been inflicted on the people by the past Government, and which should, at the same time, give a pledge that the evil past was to be broken with, and a new order of things inaugurated, was the great desire of the country; and Pius laid to heart the intimation that this step was a *sine quâ non* of the approbation of his subjects. On that same day, the 21st of June, a festival was held by the political prisoners in the fort of Cività Castellana, to celebrate the election of a "Liberal" Pontiff; and this manifestation, altogether of a nature to appeal to the sympathies of Pius, was a further indication of the only road which lay open to the hearts of his subjects.

A few days subsequently to this, on the 27th of June, a little incident occurred which has been related to me by the person to whom it happened, and which curiously indicates the degree of disturbance which a small ruffling of the flowing stream of popularity produced in the Pope's complacency, and still

more remarkably his appreciation of the rocks ahead, which might entirely divert the current of it. There had been an ecclesiastical ceremony of some kind at St. Peter's on that day; and as the crowd were streaming out of the church, some hisses or cries had been heard addressed to Monsignore Corboli, a trusted friend and minister of the Pontiff, who was, however, not popular with the Romans. It was in the afternoon of this day that the gentleman who is my informant had to wait on the Pope for some business occasion, and found him in a very ill humour. The manifestations I have spoken of had been mentioned to him. His Holiness complained that things were going very badly; that there must be nothing of this sort,—otherwise "*verrano i brutti musi*,"—we shall be having the ugly mugs here! By which uncomplimentary, almost slang, phrase he meant the Austrians!

But the first circumstance which afforded the Pope a taste of the pleasures of popularity, and almost of an ovation, was a visit paid by him on foot to the little church of the Umiltà, situated in the street of the same name, on the slope of the Quirinal Hill, as it descends towards the Corso. It was on the 2nd of July—the celebration of the Visitation of the

Virgin—that the Pontiff, almost alone, without guards, without a train of Court attendants, or Cardinals, and, wonder of wonders! without a carriage, walked from the palace of the Quirinal the short distance to the church above-mentioned, and there performed his orisons! The tidings of the presence of the sovereign in that spot, and of the simple manner of his visit, so wholly unlike all that the Roman populace had been accustomed to, ran from mouth to mouth like lightning through the city. And by the time his devotions were ended, and he started on his walk back to the Quirinal, an enormous crowd had assembled, and rendered his homeward walk a veritable ovation. That was the new Pontiff's first experience of real popularity, and it whetted his appetite for more of the same sort.

On the 16th of that July the much-desired amnesty was decreed, and on the following day announced. The motives set forth in the preamble to the declaration are noteworthy: "The affection that our good people has shown towards us, and the constant marks of veneration which the Holy See has received in our person, have persuaded us that we may pardon without danger." The silliness of basing such an act on such a motive, though it must

have made itself patent enough to the Pope himself as well as to others, at no great distance of time subsequently, seems to have occurred to no mind then. The persons in prison for political offences were at that time three hundred and ninety-four in number, and the exiles or emigrants, who could not venture to return, six hundred and five. All these, with the exception of a few who were ecclesiastics, or officers in the papal army, or Government officials (all which categories were formally excluded from the amnesty), were pardoned on condition of signing the following declaration :

" I, the undersigned, acknowledging myself to have received a singular favour in the spontaneous and generous pardon accorded to me by the indulgence of the supreme Pontiff, Pius the Ninth, my legitimate sovereign, for the part taken by me in tentatives of whatsoever kind, which have disturbed public order, and assailed the authority legitimately constituted in his temporal dominions, promise on my word of honour not to abuse this act of his sovereign clemency at any time or in any manner, and pledge myself to fulfil faithfully all the duties of a good and loyal subject."

Almost all the prisoners, the exiles, and the

refugees accepted the terms and signed the above agreement. Some few refused to do so, not because they would not give the promise required, but because they would not admit that they had done anything that needed pardon. Among these few are found the names of the now Senators Terenziano Mamiani and Carlo Pepoli. They were, however, subsequently permitted to return tacitly without signing any declaration. Some of the refugees also returned in an irregular manner, without having ever signed the declaration, and no notice was taken of them.

It was at six o'clock in the evening on the 17th of July, 1846, just one month after the election of the new Pope, that the official proclamation of the amnesty took place in Rome. Within an hour afterwards a large crowd had assembled on Monte Cavallo, crying "Viva Pio Nono!" with frantic enthusiasm. The Pope came out on to the balcony, and gave them his blessing, and the crowd departed. But by nine o'clock a roaring, rushing crowd, a thousand strong for every hundred of the first demonstration, had re-assembled in front of the Pope's windows. And again the Pontiff came out on to the balcony, and gave the noisy multitude the

pontifical benediction. And once again the crowd departed, and the wide space remained empty and silent. But about an hour later a third crowd, as much exceeding the second in numbers as that had exceeded the first, had again assembled. The whole of the vast piazza of the Monte Cavallo and the neighbouring streets were filled with a compact mass of struggling and screaming men and women. A great number of them had flaming torches in their hands, and they had brought a band of music with them. Once again the Pontiff appeared and dispersed thanks and blessing to the right and to the left. Leaving the Quirinal the crowd, with their music and their torches, traversed the whole length of the Corso, saluting the residence of Cardinal Gizzi with a chorus of "Evvivas!" on the way, continually shouting the name of "Pio Nono!" and "Viva il Papa!" till at length they dispersed on the Piazza del Popolo. On the evening of the 18th the whole city was illuminated spontaneously; and again the piazza of the Quirinal on Monte Citorio was filled with a vast crowd waving torches and filling the vault of heaven with the mighty roar of their united voices.

The Pope for a long time did not show himself,

Whether it were that, like Frankenstein, he already began to feel alarm at the movements of the monster he had conjured into life, or whether it was a device for stringing up the expectations and enthusiasm of the populace to the utmost, it was nearly three hours before the Holy Father came out that night on the balcony to return thanks to his people for their affection, and to bless them. But at the end of that time he did so. That night, after receiving the pontifical blessing, the crowd again betook themselves to the Piazza del Popolo, where Angelo Brunetti, who subsequently became so well known under the nickname of "Ciceruacchio," and who was a wealthy tavern-keeper and had been secretly a leader of the disaffected under the late Government, distributed wine to whosoever would drink.

The following day, the 19th, is the festival of San Vincenzo de' Paoli, in whose honour there is a church at Monte Citorio. Thither the Pope went to mass that morning. The streets were lined during the whole distance by an enthusiastic multitude shouting blessings on him as he passed, blessing with uplifted fingers in return right and left from his carriage windows as it cleft its slow way through the living masses. As he returned to the Quirinal, the streets

were for a great part of the distance strewn with flowers, and despite all prohibitions, the people took the horses from the Pontiff's carriage and drew him to the Quirinal.

Meantime throughout the provinces of the Apostolic States, and indeed in every part of Italy, the feeling excited was not less strong than in Rome. It would hardly be too much to say that not an available wall space throughout the peninsula remained without the cabalistic "W* PIO NONO!" scrawled upon it. The scrawling indeed soon gave place to stencilling. Hundreds of thousands of stencil-plates must have been cut with that sign and those words, which became in Italy as much a portion of what the eye was wont to look on as the leaves on the trees or the grass in the fields!

The new Pontiff was exhibiting to the world the startling, unknown, and significative phenomenon of a popular Pope. And Austria was beginning to realise the fact that those hours of Gaysruck's delay at Milan had been somewhat portentous ones in the history of the world. Nor has all the importance of them been even yet perhaps recognised.

* The W or two V's is the abbreviated form of "Viva."

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF MEN'S MINDS AT ROME.—GREGORIANI.—PIANI.—WIRE-PULLERS.—DIRECTIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS SENT FROM LEADERS AT A DISTANCE.—MONTANELLI.—MAZZINI.—INHERITORS OF THE OLD GUELPHISM.—DIFFICULTIES WITH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAD TO STRUGGLE.—COMMENCEMENT OF MISGIVINGS AMONG THE FRIENDS OF THE VATICAN.—CHANGE IN PIUS NINTH'S CONDUCT IMPLIED NO CHANGE IN THE MAN.—FESTIVAL OF 8TH SEPTEMBER.—PUBLIC AUDIENCES.—THE 8TH OF NOVEMBER.—PROCLAMATION DESIGNED TO CHECK POPULAR MANIFESTATIONS.—MONSTER BANQUET.—27TH DECEMBER, THE POPE'S NAME-DAY.—END OF THE YEAR 1846.

This intoxication of joy and hope and exultation continued during the remaining months of that year and the spring of the following one. The whole population of the States of the Church seemed to have entered into a conspiracy to fool their sovereign to the top of his bent. Probably no human ears ever drank up so enormous a quantity of unadulterated flattery as did those of Pius the Ninth in the course

of those months. It seemed, too, as if the people intoxicated themselves and each other with the flattery they uttered. Everybody embraced everybody; everybody called everybody brother. Old jealousies and old hatreds were forsworn. There was to be peace on earth, and goodwill towards men —even towards priests! It was to be the beginning of a new era of prosperity and happiness; all the old evils that had made the people wretched, and Rome a by-word of barbarism and reproach, were to be at an end. If the Pope gave permission for the opening of infant schools, the act was be-hymned, as if such a manifestation of wisdom and beneficence had never been known in the world before. If he allowed the establishment of a circulating library, if he sanctioned the principle of association for the purposes of industry, all Rome fell into ecstasies of delight and adulation. A roseate hue was in the atmosphere, and coloured all things. If anybody had a misgiving in his heart—if anybody doubted whether something more might not be needed for the regeneration of such a profoundly rotten social body as that of Rome than anything that was being done, he kept his thoughts to himself, and joined in the universal hymn of praise and rejoicing. The present writer

can testify as an eye-witness to the apparent universality, sincerity, and spontaneousness of the feelings and manifestations of them described.

But there is good reason to believe that they were neither universal nor spontaneous, nor wholly sincere. That the apparent universality of these sentiments should have been only apparent was, of course natural enough, and to have been expected. Many persons and classes of persons had lived by the corruptions, abuses, and tyranny of the old system. Inquisitors, spies, those who profited by abuses; judges, lawyers, whose lives had been passed in the grooves of the old paths; priests of sufficient honesty and clearness of vision to perceive that reform and the predominance of the ecclesiastical caste were for ever incompatible; all these, and those who depended upon them, made up the ranks of the "Sanfedisti,"* as they were called, and were animated by the bitterest and most rancorous hatred against all the acts, ideas, and persons that were placing a gulf between the old time and the new. The admirers of the latter were called, with that old love for partisan names which has been in every age a Roman speciality, "Piani," from "Pius"; and the

* From "Santa Fede," the "Holy Faith."

former "Gregoriani," from the name of the late Pope.

A more important fact, as regarded the nascent hopes for the future of Rome and of Italy, was that the sentiments, the enthusiastic rush of which was carrying all before them, were not wholly sincere, nor were those manifestations of them which have been described altogether spontaneous.

The intensity of the gratitude that was manifested by the Roman populace for the amnesty was remarkable. Very few indeed of those who profited by it were Romans. The insurrections and seditions, which had filled the prisons with prisoners and the other provinces of Italy with exiles, had not arisen at Rome, but in the Legations; at Bologna, at Ravenna, at Ferrara, etc. It is true that the granting of the amnesty might have been interpreted—was, reasonably enough interpreted—as a formal repudiation of the general system and tendencies of the late Government, and the inauguration of a new era. But the masses of such a population as that of the Rome of Gregory the Sixteenth were hardly likely to have been so strangely moved by such considerations; and subsequent revelations have shown that other influences were at work to move them. The leaders of

the Carbonari and of the "Giovine Italia" had already gauged Pius the Ninth, and were already seeking to practise on his vanity and craving for popular applause, for the attainment of ends very different from any that were dreamed of in his philosophy.* The very remarkable paper of instructions sent at this time "to the friends of Italy" by that ardent patriot, sincere humanitarian, and great organiser, Mazzini, which is given, translated *in extenso*, in an Appendix to these volumes, is well worth reading by any who wish to understand the true position of the Italian Government and the Papacy, especially at this period.† It will serve, together with the documents referred to in the note, and many other similar revelations to be found scattered in the subsequently-published memorials of the men who were attempting to bring about the unity and independence of Italy, to show that the crowds which administered to the Pontiff the flattering ovations he so dearly loved were set in motion by wire-pullers,

* The "Archivio triennale delle cose d'Italia," printed at Capolago in 1850, pp. 349-352, may be referred to. See also the "Memorie di Montanelli," the same who was subsequently one of the triumvirate government in Tuscany, vol. i. p. 137.

† I would especially direct the attention of the reader to the passage in which Mazzini speaks of the clergy.

whose views were consciously incompatible with the existence of the temporal power of the Papacy.

Others, however, there were whose views and hopes, in truth equally incompatible with the existence of that power, were not so consciously to themselves. They were men the lineal representatives in feelings and modes of thought of those who helped to crush the reformation in Italy in the sixteenth century, not because they were insensible to the evils of the papal system as it then existed, but because they could not endure that Italy should lose so great, so singular, and so pre-eminent a possession as the Papacy. Those men, the heirs of the old mediæval Guelphism, as they were the forerunners of the new Guelphs of the nineteenth century, sought to fashion forth to themselves a new and redeemed Italy under the headship of an improved and purified Pope. These dreamers were sincere in the ovations which they offered to Pio Nono, and in the hopes which they formed from the advent of a reformer Pope. They have received from him in return for their incense the very much more valuable service of a decisive, final, and undeniable proof that the hope in question, though it has been the hope of centuries, is an absolutely impossible and impracticable dream.

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Pius the Ninth was attempting a task which he and, far more clearly than he, all those about him saw to be one of exceeding difficulty, and which *we* know to have been wholly impossible.

In the first place, none of the Government—neither Pius himself nor any of those whom it was open to him to employ—had any fixed ideas or plan to carry out. It was impossible that he should have had. A Pope, who of course has certainly no assurance, and perhaps not the smallest idea, that he will be Pope till he is elected, can but enter into the grooves which he finds established, and accept the system in operation. Add to that the enormous difficulty of finding a *via media* between the old repression and such an excess of the new Liberalism as, it was already beginning to be seen, would be fatal to the machine altogether. The Papal Government was attempting to steer its way between a Scylla and Charybdis, which intensified the dangers inseparable from such an attempt by continually changing their positions. The Liberalising Government of Pius the Ninth was surrounded by enemies. The Gregorians were of course the bitter, rancorous, and irreconcilable enemies of everything that changed or

showed a tendency to change anything that had existed under the late Pope. And many of the Liberals who were by their applause stimulating and urging the Pontiff to go forward ever faster and further, were consciously driving him to his destruction. Some believed in the possibility of a Liberal Pope-king, but they were very much the minority. The screaming populace no doubt felt sincere kindness towards the Sovereign whose doings caused them to be at that moment screaming instead of working, and who did not cause his sbirri (policemen) to forthwith lay them by the heels. But the wire-pullers who were obeying such instructions as those given in the Appendix which has been above referred to, were consciously and of set purpose driving the Pope forward in a path which they knew must, and fully purposed should, lead to his destruction.

It was not till the several revelations given to the world in subsequent times and under changed circumstances had been made, that this truth could have been stated with certainty; but it was not long before those around Pius the Ninth began to realise the truth that they were advancing towards a precipice, and but few months had passed before the Pontiff himself became fully aware of that fact.

And as soon as ever he did become aware of it, he lost not an instant in turning about, retracing his steps, and using all his energies to travel as fast and as far as possible in the opposite direction. The sudden change in the Pope's conduct, in his policy, and in the tendencies and direction of it have been constantly commented on as being a phenomenon of a surprising and very singular kind. Never before, it has been said, did man become suddenly so unlike his former self. But all such remarks are based on an entirely mistaken view of the circumstances. No change took place then or at any other time in the nature, the tendencies, the opinions, or the desires of Pius the Ninth. He was, he has been the same man throughout. The change in the direction in which he moved was simply that of the man who, in chasing a butterfly, suddenly sees a precipice before him, of the existence of which he had no previous idea. No charge of fickleness or uncertainty of purpose will lie against Pius the Ninth. But the amount of ignorance under which he laboured—ignorance of the condition of men's minds and thoughts in the world, and especially in that part of it which he was called to rule over; ignorance of the nature and requirements of his own position, and of

the necessary connection between certain theories and principles and the outcome of them in the world of fact—must have been something colossal, and almost inconceivable to those who have never had any opportunity of observing the effect of sacerdotal education in a social atmosphere unadulterated by any unsacerdotal element. The wonder of the reader at the possibility of such ignorance will go on increasing at each fresh concession granted by the Pope—wonder that he does not yet see the chasm yawning at his feet! At its very edge he did see it, and has been running from it ever since.

As yet, however, we are in the midst of that short honeymoon, when all the Roman world was bathed in a roseate light, when the "Saturnia regna," if not already quite come back, were on the point of returning, and all went merrily "as a marriage bell."

On the 8th of September, the festival of the Nativity of the Virgin, the Pope went in state to the church of Santa Maria del Popolo. And this was the occasion for another great ovation and demonstration. Ciceruacchio caused a triumphal arch, similar to that of Constantine, to be erected in the Piazza del Popolo for the Pontiff to pass

under, which was most gratifying—naturally so; only . . . among the "evvivas" which accompanied the Pontiff on his way through the streets, some ears fancied they heard cries of "Italia!" What could that mean? Hum . . .

Since the end of July the Pope had begun giving public audiences on a certain day of the week—one day for men and another for women. They were held in the garden of the Quirinal. Nothing could be more delightful, patriarchal, primitive, picturesque, Arcadian. Saturnian kingdoms come again in truth! The popularity of the Pontiff was increased immensely by the arrangement. The receptions in the garden of the Quirinal became all the rage with the Roman populace. Coffee and cake alone were wanting to make such *noctes cœnæque Deum* as the world had never seen before. It is painful to have to add that they had to be discontinued after a very short experience of them. The "indiscretion and importunity" of the people became such that it was impossible to continue them. The women, we are told, were the worst. And those who ever have had any experience of the Roman matron, as she is seen in her native haunts of the Trastevere and the Monti, will understand that the Pontiff paid

dearly for his ephemeral popularity by those receptions in the gardens of the Quirinal.

On the 8th of November the new Pope went in solemn state to take possession of his bishopric at the Lateran, the mother church of all the churches in Rome and in the Catholic world. And this was another occasion for a grand ovation--all the balconies decked with brilliant coloured hangings, all the walls eloquent with flattering inscriptions, and all the streets lined by a vociferating crowd.

But the principal of these occasions only have been mentioned here. Hardly a day passed without its "manifestation," or "demonstration," and its daily dose of flattery administered to the palate, which was learning to find life intolerable without it.

Already, however, the shrewder of the counsellors who surrounded the Pope had begun to perceive that this constant assembling of the populace might become dangerous. Doubtless they were not aware how accurately, though for the most part unconsciously, the people were acting in obedience to the orders of that unseen leader, whose principal direction was, "Assemble, assemble, assemble!" and who was secretly watching from a distance the process

that was to lead to their utter destruction. But they were instinctively aware that so much gathering together of the popular masses could not be safe, and that bearing in mind what they wanted and what the people wanted, so much rejoicing was but a likely prelude to a dangerous degree of disappointment. On the 8th of October the Secretary of State, Cardinal Gizzi, published a declaration, the object of which was to put a stop to, or at least moderate, these festive gatherings. The matter was rather a difficult one to handle, and the turn given to the Cardinal's proclamation was ingenious. The joy of the population, it is said, makes the joy and delight of the Pontiff's heart. "Nevertheless his heart, always inclined to prefer the welfare of his subjects to his own glory, is sensible of some affliction mingled with his joy, when he considers that these festive doings have been the product of voluntary contributions; and he cannot tolerate that his people should be put to expense on his behalf. Besides which he has perceived with pain that large masses of the population, abandoning themselves to this enthusiasm, have left their domestic occupations by means of which, according to their different positions in life, they provided for their support; so

that his paternal heart has been doubly grieved by this second loss which has accrued to his loving subjects." For which reasons all good subjects are exhorted to give over these costly demonstrations and return quietly to their ordinary occupations, "tranquilly awaiting those dispositions for the benefit of the country which the Government is preparing."

It was not long before it began to be very evident that the fears which betrayed themselves in the above proclamation, were not altogether unreasonable or without foundation. On the 11th of November a monster banquet took place, which had been organised for the purpose of "fraternising" with the large number of persons who had come to Rome from the provinces, to be present at the ceremony of the Taking Possession of the Lateran. It took place in the Alibert Theatre, subsequently burned down, and about eight hundred guests sat down to table in the body of the theatre. The boxes and galleries were filled with a vast crowd of lookers-on, belonging to every social grade and class. There was a colossal bust of Pius the Ninth in the centre of the table; and innumerable healths were drunk and speeches made in honour and praise of the Sovereign Pontiff.

Various poets also recited their verses on the same theme. But, mingled with the praises of Pius the Ninth, there were allusions as to what he was going to do, of a somewhat too significant kind; there were reflections on the memory of Gregory the Sixteenth, which (considering the nature of Popes and their pretensions) must have sounded rather unpleasantly in his successor's ears! Among the "evvivas" to Pius the Ninth, some to "Italia!" were heard. Now that word was a word of fear for all the rulers of the Peninsula. They understood well that their subjects did not use the term in the correct Metternichian sense, as a mere "geographical expression;" and no form of disaffection was in those days deemed more dangerous and ominous than any allusion to "Italia!" The fears lest his beloved subjects should be spending in his honour more money than they could afford became stronger than ever at the Quirinal!

The year 1846 ended, however, with the political barometer standing at fair weather; and Pius the Ninth was still hailed daily, in all papers and on all dead walls throughout Italy, as not only the best of all possible Popes, but as a better Pope than the human imagination could have conceived before it had seen him! The worst of it was that the some-

what instructed human imagination could not conceive the possibility of the continuance of him, now it had seen him! This unfortunate consideration, however, broke upon the minds of the Romans but slowly. Meanwhile, the 27th of December being sacred to St. John, and being therefore the Pope's name-day (which is to Italians a festivity observed as we observe our birthdays), a crowd of about eight hundred of the idling frequenters of the caffès, having nothing better to amuse them, went up to the Quirinal with music and torches, and shoutings, to salute the Pontiff. He came out on to the balcony and blessed the immense multitude which had assembled, drawn together by the demonstration of the original eight hundred;—but the fears about the expenses incurred were becoming very pressing.

CHAPTER III.

BEGINNING OF 1847.—MORE "DEMONSTRATIONS."—SPECIAL TALENT OF PIUS THE NINTH FOR REPRESENTING.—HIS APPEARANCE, MANNER.—IMPROVEMENTS IN ROMAN INSTITUTIONS.—CIRCUMSTANCES URGING THE POPE TO BE A REFORMER.—INAUGURATION OF RAILWAY SYSTEM.—INFANT ASYLUMS.—ACADEMY OF THE LINCEI.—ASSOCIATION FOR AMELIORATION OF THE CAMPAGNA.—"PIANO" ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD.—INSTITUTION OF THE "CONSULTA."—CEREMONIAL OF INAUGURATION.—PROCESSION OF NEW MEMBERS TO THE CHURCH OF ST. PETER.—EPIGRAPHS, AND ERASURES FROM THEM BY THE CENSOR.—BLINDNESS OF PIUS TO THE FUTURE.—INTENDED FOREIGN MANIFESTATIONS FORBIDDEN.

THE new year began at Rome, as the old one had ended, with gala doings, "evvivas," festive shouting, and congratulations. The attempts to check this already somewhat disquieting tendency to make perpetual "demonstrations," instead of going about their ordinary business, wholly failed to effect their object. It would not at all have suited the views of those who were pulling the wires by which the Roman

populace was moved, that this tendency should have been checked. "Associate, associate, associate!" was the cry of the arch-agitator and conspirator. "Meet together, if only on the pretext of giving thanks for any concession granted, and make your meeting the occasion for asking more!" The Romans showed themselves apt pupils of such teaching. Had the teacher bidden them to work well each man at his appointed task, they would have been less apt. "Demonstrating" was not hard work; it was pleasant enough; had all the flavour of novelty, and left the rather hoarse and thirsty demonstrators with a vague but agreeable sense of having accomplished a virtuous and heroical action, and done somewhat towards the regeneration of their country.

The *Capo-d'-anno*, the first of the new year, was an occasion not to be lost! Early in the morning of the 1st of January, 1847, several thousands of people, among whom were a great many of the students of the University, assembled with music and colours flying on the Piazza del Popolo, and having there formed themselves into a procession, proceeded to the Quirinal. There "a hymn," composed for the occasion, was sung by about four hundred voices, in a very orderly manner, showing that the assembled

thousands were under word of command. The Pope, well drilled to his work by this time, came out to the balcony, blessed, thanked, blessed again, and retired. In the evening another "hymn"—there was the utmost abundance of hymns in those days, as the present writer can well remember—was sung in the great hall of the Senators' Palace on the Capitol. But this hymn was set to music by Rossini, and was performed in the presence of many Cardinals and all the most aristocratic society of Rome. I do not think the aristocratic society understood the meaning of it. Some of the Cardinals doubtless did, and they did not like it!

It is an old remark that everybody likes to do that which he is conscious of doing well. And Pius the Ninth did his part on all these occasions eminently well. It is impossible to conceive any man better adapted for the part, or performing it more admirably. Those who, like the present writer, had the opportunity of seeing and talking with both Gregory the Sixteenth, toward the end of his career, and Pius the Ninth at the beginning of his, will hardly have forgotten the strange contrast, which must have impressed itself on their imaginations. Anything less connected with any idea of dignity than the appear-

ance of old Gregory can hardly be conceived. A peasant, or even an uneducated monk, may be dignified in bearing, if they have that within which is worthy of respect. But Gregory had not this. The low and narrow mind of the man was reflected in his good-humoured-looking, but very vulgar face, not unmarked by the traces of excess,—never probably sufficiently gross to have seemed excess to other than a medical observer, but still telling its tale on the physiognomy of unreverend old age. And the sordid habits of the Camaldolese monk had been in no degree exorcised by the tiara. He was excessively dirty, and the entirety of his bearing, his voice, mode of utterance, and the words he spoke, were in perfect keeping with his external appearance.

Pius the Ninth had, on the other hand, the fortuitous advantage of having been born a gentleman. He had the further accidental advantages of a remarkably fine person, and a far more remarkably magnificent voice. And he had in great perfection that grace of bearing which is unfailingly accepted by mankind as the indication of certain spiritual graces, with which it has often little or no connection, and which is rarely attained in perfection by any save those who have somewhat of a histrionic

strain in their constitution and character. It would doubtless be wronging Pius the Ninth to suppose that he was altogether unregardful of the tremendous underlying verities, which rule the proprieties of the relationship between a Pope and his people. But what the nature of the man forced into the foreground of his mind was the artistic proprieties of the position and the occasion. He felt that the *rôle* that had been entrusted to him was a very telling one, and excellently adapted to his capabilities, and he was bent on making the most of it!

It was impossible to leave his presence—it is impossible now, after more than thirty years' performance by him of the part, and was naturally more so in those days—without being favourably impressed by the performer. His affability was naturally at that early time more marked than it is now. Not that in these days the octogenarian fails in courtesy to his numerous visitors; but in those earlier days he had the consciousness that everybody, who saw him, saw him to admire and to praise him; that all Europe was looking at him applaudingly; and—it is very different now!

Yet favourable as was the impression which the Pope made on nearly all who saw, and still more on

those who spoke with him, especially on those of a kindred nature to his own, who delighted in a grand and graceful presentment, and gave themselves up without misgiving to the charm of manner, closer observers, or those who were not gifted with so complete a sympathy for the perfection of artistic presentment, felt that there was something wanting in the man, something that did not wholly satisfy the moral sense. The features, though they were in those days undeniably handsome, and to a great degree prepossessing, were those of a weak man. And while the mouth betrayed weakness, there was something in the eye that betokened insincerity. I believe that both these indications were truthful. It is well known that the popular superstition of the Romans has always attributed to the present Pope the unfortunate quality of the evil eye. Why, or whence, the idea arose, nobody has ever been able to say. The notion certainly was not generated from the extreme unpopularity, which succeeded so quickly to the contrary feeling, among the Romans towards their sovereign; for it dated from the former period. It seems simply to have arisen in the popular mind from the look of him. And it seems not unlikely, that the same specialty of appearance and of

glance, which has led many physiognomists to deem his look an insincere one, may have caused the populace of Rome to account for the expression in question in accordance with the dictates of their ancient immemorial superstition.

There were a great number of improvements that were possible without trenching in any way on ground which the Pope was thoroughly minded not to enter on, and many institutions, undeniably useful and beneficent in their nature, which did not seem to contravene principles he was bound to consider immutable. It is true that in the case of some of the improvements, institutions, and advances towards civilisation, the reason why such had never existed at Rome, was that shrewder men than Pius the Ninth (who willing the end had also willed the means) had perceived that such things were in their results and ultimate outcome incompatible with arrangements which they were fully minded to secure at all or any cost. And it is equally true that Pius the Ninth was as fully minded as any one of the most high-handed and violent of his predecessors, to maintain, secure, and perpetuate the arrangements and principles in question. But many circumstances at the outset of his career contributed

to blind him to facts and truths, of which the wisdom of his predecessors and their advisers had not mistaken the significance. His own immense craving for applause and popularity was not the least of these. Had he lived a monk from his youth upwards, like Gregory, had the Church marked him for her own from his earliest years, he might have contented himself, as other Churchmen greedy of fame have contented themselves, with the flatteries and the admiration of his caste, and with such immortality as the Church writers of history can award to their heroes. But he had lived in the world, and he wanted the admiration of the world, the *vivas* and the applause of men and women. Again, he wanted to do good to his subjects. There is no reason to doubt that he liked beneficence and well-doing for their own sake; and it is quite unmistakable that the circumstances of the time admonished him that they were needed for his own behoof. It was plain to all men, and to almost all priests, that a year or two more of Gregory would have brought matters to an explosion, with results utterly unforeseeable; and all voices in all languages were exhorting the new Pope that the way, the only way, to avoid this danger was to make concessions, to grant

things tending to what the Liberal opinion of the age considered to be improvement. The general state of men's minds in all parts of Europe at that period must be taken into consideration. Europe appeared to be on the point of making a "new departure"—a fresh start. Liberalism, and the desire for a new and ameliorated order of things, was in the atmosphere. A new era was to begin; and what could be more enticing, more intoxicatingly delightful to such a man as Giovanni Mastai, than the idea of placing himself at the head of the new renaissance of the nations—of being at once the captain and the standard-bearer, first in solid power and first in showy leadership, of the advancing host?

Before the end of 1846 the new Pontiff had already instituted a commission charged to examine various projects for railways in the pontifical dominions. Gregory the Sixteenth would not hear of railways; they were an abomination to him. Gregory was an ignorant and stupid man; Pius a less ignorant and much less stupid one. But Gregory judged rightly in this matter: and Pius, led away by the influences described in the preceding paragraph, judged wrongly. He has discovered by this time

what Gregory's priest-instinct truly taught him, that steam-engines and their works are incompatible with papal pretensions and purposes. Many projects of lines of railway were proposed. The commission selected for immediate consideration one from Rome, by Ancona, to Bologna, and thence to the frontier of the Modenese territory.

In April of this year (1847) the Pontiff established infant asylums and, a more dangerous innovation, evening schools and Sunday schools for the sons of artisans. In the autumn he re-established the Academy of the Lincei, which had been founded in Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century, for the cultivation of the physical sciences, and had very naturally fallen into decay and oblivion because the cultivation of the physical sciences had become incompatible with the security of the Papacy. Pius the Ninth, wrong again where his predecessors had been right, re-established this dangerous society, endowed it, and entitled it "Pontifical." Of course it has to be said, in his excuse, that he had no smallest notion of what cultivation of physical sciences meant, if it meant anything, beyond the naming of butterflies and queer-shaped shells and plants. But all the treacherous world applauded

him for what he was doing, many of them well knowing that he was committing suicide.

A little later he declared himself first associate and protector of a society for the amelioration and cultivation of the Campagna. Wrong again! Indeed, one thing has at least been made clear to the world—that a reforming Pope cannot do right. Improve and cultivate the Campagna indeed! as if its present condition of uncultivation had not come from the entailing arrangements and mortmain holdings of religious corporations. And how could these be meddled with, without endangering the papal throne and system?

One safe and Pope-like thing he did! By brief, dated the 17th of June, 1847, he instituted a new order of chivalry, which he called the Ordine Piano, to be bestowed on those who should deserve well of the Apostolic See. But nobody gave him much praise for this; it was not the sort of thing that was wanted by that treacherous world that was hounding him on by its flatteries to his destruction.

But a far, very far more dangerous innovation than any of these was one which was initiated by a circular addressed, on the 19th of April, by Cardinal Gizzi, Secretary of State, to all the governors of

provinces. This was nothing less than the institution of a board of councillors, to be chosen from the different provinces, sent up to Rome, there to deliberate in council and advise the Holy Father. The members were to be chosen by himself from names proposed by the governors of provinces; they were to be men of distinguished social position, and well known as well-affectioned subjects of the Apostolic See, and to have the confidence of their fellow-citizens. It was declared to be the Pope's purpose to avail himself of the assistance of these councillors for the better administration of public affairs, and also for the better ordering of the communal councils which had been already established. This institution was the beginning of the end! Mazzini and the leaders of the "Giovane Italia" smiled grimly as they saw the Pontiff place himself on the well-greased slide of the inclined plane which was to shoot him over the precipice. Poor old Lambruschini and the other Gregorian remnants felt as men must feel on board of a ship, the rudder of which has been entrusted in a storm to a raving maniac!

Four and twenty nominations were made. We find Marco Minghetti among the number, as member for Bologna. Antonelli, promoted to the purple on

the 12th of June, 1847, was named president; and on the 14th of November the solemn opening of the Council took place. It was a very grand and solemn affair. The members of the new Council went in a body to the Quirinal to express their gratitude to the Pontiff, who made a speech, reminding them of the extent of their functions. This allocution naturally and necessarily took the shape rather of a warning as to what they were not to do, than any very precise instructions as to what was expected of them. If the words of the Holy Father, however, might have been found insufficient in this respect, supplementary instruction was provided by despatching the new councillors in a body to the Basilica of the Vatican, there to seek and receive "illumination from heaven." The Roman world was very much impressed by this, or, at least, by the manner in which it was done. Four and twenty of the leading patrician families in Rome lent four and twenty state carriages for the purpose, and one councillor got into each of these. Each carriage was preceded by a band of music, by banners, and troops in due quantities and proportions, and was followed by a party of citizens from the town of each member, three of them bearing standards with the arms of the town,

its name, and the name of its deputy. The procession thus formed went from the Quirinal to the Vatican, and there the councilmen sought celestial "illumination." Thence they adjourned to the hall provided for them in the Vatican, and held their first meeting. The remembrance of it at the present date, just thirty years subsequently, must form a singular page in the memories of the survivors of that Council. When Marco Minghetti trudges to his daily work of interpellating and replying to interpellations at Monte Citorio, I wonder whether he ever thinks of his first progress in a gilt coach to the opening of the first Roman parliament.

"Every window along the line of the procession had drapery hanging from it of material more or less splendid, more or less fresh in condition. A very large display of tapestry also ornamented many of the walls. Yellow sand strewn along the whole distance hid from the eye for awhile the usual filth of the Roman streets, and at every few yards huge banners were suspended on wreaths of evergreens across the street, bearing pithy and significative inscriptions expressive of the expectations of the people with regard to the new Council which was passing beneath them to its first meeting. These banners and

their legends were the most remarkable thing connected with the occasion. They were selected, prepared, and hung up without any reference to or communication with the authorities whatsoever; and a circumstance curiously indicative of inconsistency on the part of the Government occurred with regard to these inscriptions. On the following morning appeared a printed sheet, sold about the streets, containing the collection of them, from which here and there a line had been erased by the Censorship. And yet the flags bearing the obnoxious words were permitted to continue hanging before the eyes of the citizens all the following day; while the hiatus marked with points in the paper, which was in everybody's hand, of course served to direct attention especially to the inscriptions thus stigmatised. The first two lines of one, which the Censorship altogether erased from the printed sheet, were: "Difformità di culto non importi civile servitù" ("Let not difference of religion involve civil inequality"); and the remainder of the epigraph was only an expansion of the same sentiment. Another legend bade the Council to "open to the daring minds of all the sons of Italy all the fountains of the arts and sciences, and never fail to remember that intellect is power."

From this the Censor erased the words "*of all the sons of Italy,*" the object being, of course, to avoid giving offence to Austria. Another banner bore the words, "Let your speech be as bold as our hopes are, and your counsels great as are the needs of the people." Another, "Oh Councillors, give us light by instruction, bread by commerce, strength by arms! Be the palladium of our rights, the glory of the nation." Not a few of these inscriptions recalled to the remembrance of the new deputies the connection between privileges and responsibilities; warned them that all eyes will be on them; reminded them that their conduct will have to undergo a rigorous examination; that a day of severe reckoning awaits them; and one hinted that "unfruitful boughs will be lopped from the tree of State, and replaced by better grafts;" with other similarly expressive words of warning. Beneath all these sententious saws, and between closely-packed masses of the citizens, and tall houses, every window of which was filled with gazing faces, but all as silent as the grave, the four and twenty councilmen wound their way in the four and twenty gala coaches, most of them looking anxious and excited, and some nervous and agitated enough. Had it not been for the military bands, the

procession might have been deemed that of a funeral, so depressingly silent were the vast multitudes which thronged the streets. As soon as the close of the procession had entered the church of St. Peter's, the crowd rushed in through the four vast doors, all thrown open. And a striking suggestion of the vastness of the space of the huge fabric was afforded by the wonderful manner in which the multitudes seemed literally to be absorbed by the mighty building. The thousands poured in, circulated freely, and yet there was space to spare. At the eastern altar a mass was celebrated with the music of the military bands which had accompanied the procession, and the effect, taken in conjunction with the ideas calculated to be produced by the nature of the occasion, was felt by those present to be very grand indeed—to many of them quite overpowering. The colossal statues of departed Pontiffs, the tyrants of the Church and of mankind, sat around, and seemed to gaze from their marble tombs at the novel scene with astonishment and indignation."*

"Pius the Ninth is an excellent man"—thus wrote the hand which now writes these lines on the

* The above description was penned by the present writer immediately after witnessing the scene described.

evening of the day in question, when the first meeting of the new Consulta had taken place—"but he is a Pope, and he little dreams—at least if his secret thoughts and his public words at all agree—of the consequences which are involved in the new institutions he has been creating. But Rome understands them otherwise, thinks otherwise, means otherwise. The speech which Pius made to his new councillors tells the deputies that he has not the slightest intention of lessening the power of the pontifical sovereignty, which he considers himself 'bound to hand down to his successors whole and unimpaired as he received it from God and his predecessors.' He tells them that 'those are greatly deceived who fancy that the duties of the new Council are aught beyond giving an opinion when asked to do so;' and that they 'are greatly deluded who see in it a realisation of their own Utopias and the germs of an institution incompatible with the papal sovereignty.'

"The Holy Father may *intend*," continued the present writer, noting the impressions of the hour on that same evening, "to hand down the despotic power wielded by his predecessors in the chair of St. Peter whole and entire. But were he to die

to-morrow, and were his successor to be the most furious *oscurantista* and stoutest champion of despotic power that the Sacred College could furnish, he would find the papal power transmitted to him by no means 'whole and entire,' but clipped, hedged in, and bounded in every direction. A progress has already been made which it is quite impossible to retrace."

A curious circumstance connected with the memorable event of that day, and which indeed was the cause of that strange silence of the multitude above recorded, deserves to be mentioned.

It had been intended by those leaders of the people, who had arranged the popular portion of the proceedings of the day, that all the foreign nations represented in Rome should take part in the procession, each marching under its own flag. It became known, however, that the Lombards and the Neapolitans had determined on marching with their flags furled and craped, in token of mourning for the political condition of their respective countries. It was known also that it was intended that while the other foreign flags, especially that of England, should be received with applause by the Romans, that of France should be suffered to pass in utter silence, in token of the dissatisfaction of the

Italians at the conduct of the French Government towards Italy. These circumstances induced the Austrian, Neapolitan, and French ministers to make application to the Papal Government to prevent any such exhibition of feeling, and the result was the prohibition of all participation by foreign nations in the business of the day.

Thus was completed the inauguration of an institution, which, ephemeral enough in its own original form, was in fact the thin end of the wedge, the insertion of which into the ancient system of the papal rule was destined to shatter it for ever.

There were no doubt many on the right hand and on the left—the old councillors of Gregory and the Gregorians, as they were called, in general on the one side, and the popular wire-pullers of the secret societies on the other — who, with diametrically opposed wishes, hopes and fears, both clearly enough saw and understood that which Pius and those immediately around him seem to have been blind to!

And wonderful it seems that they should have failed even for a while to recognise the truth of that "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint,*" which they so soon afterwards acknowledged and adhered to.

CHAPTER IV.

LORD MINTO IN ITALY.—ITALIAN TESTIMONY TO HIS CONDUCT THERE. —LORD PALMERSTON'S INSTRUCTIONS.—PELLEGRINO ROSSI. —NEITHER PALMERSTON NOR ROSSI SAW WHITHER MATTERS WERE TENDING.—CAUSES OF THIS.—SPEECH OF THE PONTIFF TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTA.—DISCONTENT CAUSED BY IT.—NEWSPAPERS IN ROME.—THE CLANDESTINE PRESS.—THE "CIRCOLI."—SEDITIOUS CRIES ON OCCASION OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE ANNUNCIATION.—EXCURSION OF THE POPE TO SUBIACO. —INCIDENT OF HIS RETURN JOURNEY.—ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF GREGORY THE SIXTEENTH.—ANNIVERSARY OF THE ELECTION OF PIUS THE NINTH.—CRIES OF THE CROWD ON THE QUIRINAL, AND INSCRIPTIONS ON BANNERS.—PETITION OF THE "CIRCOLI."—PROCLAMATION RECOMMENDING ABSTENTION FROM MEETINGS, AND STATING POPE'S DETERMINATION.—IMMEDIATE DISOBEDIENCE OF THE DEMONSTRATIONISTS.—CREATION OF THE GUARDIA CIVICA.—RESIGNATION OF GIZZI.

In the autumn of 1847 Lord Minto arrived in Rome. It is not necessary to occupy any space in telling English readers the nature and scope of his somewhat unusual and extraordinary mission, or in showing that its objects were wholly and solely

what it was professed that they were. But it is worth while to observe that the Italians were by no means persuaded at the time that such was the case. "Those," says Farini,* "who conceive alarms at the sight of any diplomatist, and who had borrowed from France among other things a distrust of the proverb-branded Albion, filled their minds with suspicions of all sorts respecting Lord Minto and his mission. Some thought he was sent to discover plots, and put a bridle on revolutionary schemes. Others were persuaded that his errand was to make plots and help forward revolutions. . . . The fact is that Lord Minto, an honourable gentleman and a sagacious diplomatist, did nothing which misbecame either character. He counselled the sovereigns to take those measures and to observe towards their subjects that good faith which would have secured the safety of the Governments, and recommended to the populations that moderation which was fitted to lead to liberty; and in this fashion he honourably served his own Government while deserving well of Italy. But he was made the mark for stupid suspicions which history disdains. The letter of Lord Palmerston, dated from London,

* "Lo Stato Romano dall' anno 1815 al 1850," lib. ii. ch. 8.

the 18th September, 1847, which has since been published, proves that the English Government charged Lord Minto to assure the Sardinian Government of its sincere and cordial friendship, and to declare that the English Government considered the Austrian threats of invasion on account of the organic changes then expected in Piedmont an inexcusable act of flagrant violation of international rights. Similarly in Florence he was charged to encourage the Grand Duke in the new direction which he appeared to have given to his policy; and alike at Turin, at Florence, and at Rome his mission was to study the best means of bringing to the minds of the rulers the opinions of England, which were to the effect that no power had any right to interfere with the reforming tendencies of another.*

With regard more especially to the Papal Government, Farini cites a further passage from Lord Palmerston's letter, in which it is recited that the Governments of Austria, England, Prussia, Russia, and France had recommended a large scheme of reform to the late Pope in 1831, which had been followed by no results. The letter goes on to say

* Farini gives a long extract from Lord Palmerston's letter; but the gist of it only is what is given compendiously in the text.]

that the British Government is not aware whether the reforms inaugurated by Pius the Ninth had reached the extent of those recommended in the Memorandum of 1831, and presumes that the Powers which concurred in that Memorandum are ready to encourage and assist the Pope in the complete realisation of the reforms recommended to his predecessor. In any case, it is said, the British Government is prepared so to act; and "you are charged to reassure the Roman Government on this head, and to say that the Queen's Government would not see with indifference any aggression directed against the Roman territory with a view to impede the Pontifical Government in the realisation of such internal reforms as it may judge to be desirable." *

"Such," continues Farini, "was the mission of Lord Minto; and to this his words and actions corresponded. Let those, therefore, who were stricken down by the revolution, let those who fell to rise again, and those who fell to rise no more, cease to blame Lord Minto, England, or any other fantastically imagined cause of the defeats suffered, and the

* This passage from Lord Palmerston's letter has been re-translated from the Italian version, and may therefore be found not to correspond word for word with the English original. The sense is, however, accurately given.

miseries undergone by the country. Let each rather blame his own deficiency in nobility and virtue of mind, his own errors, his own faults; for in truth every one of us has good reason to do so!"

Speaking still of those same autumn months of 1847, Farini says: "Against Rossi, the Ambassador of France, too, murmurs were raised with that amount of sense and justice which are wont to distinguish the politicians of the moment, and partisans drunk with party spirit. We Italians, children as we are, adopt all the Gallic loves and hatreds. And thus in 1847, as ever, we took part with that French parliamentary opposition, which for the sake of spiting a ministry, and overthrowing a minister, sapped the throne, the State, and itself. And we mistook our unsatisfied appetites for glory, and our noise for Liberalism, and envy of Guizot for love to Italy! And we lisped the French contumelies, after French fashion, against the King and the ministers of France; and Rossi, their ambassador in Rome, was an incubus to our exquisitely sagacious street politicians! And Rossi, too, was charged by his Government to animate the Pope to proceed freely and speedily with his reforms, so as not to run the risk of having to give by force that which he might

and ought to give spontaneously. And this mission Rossi fulfilled with singular diplomatic prudence, and, more than that, with all the love of an Italian, which in truth he always was."

The picture thus given by the historian of the condition of the popular mind at Rome during that all-important autumn is an accurate one, as the present writer can testify as an eye-witness. But Farini would not have written exactly as he wrote, had he composed his history subsequently to the publication of those revelations referred to in a previous chapter, which disclose the active part which the secret societies were taking during all that time in managing and manipulating the movements, and the cries, and the contentments and discontentments of the Roman populace. They knew what they wanted, and they were following a very skilfully and thoughtfully traced path for the attainment of it. But Lord Palmerston and Rossi, the English Government and the French, did not at all contemplate the issue, or desire the outcome, that Mazzini and his friends desired. And the surprising thing is that the former should have failed to see that the path they were pursuing, and urging the Pope to pursue, led necessarily whither Mazzini intended it should

lead, and not to the green pastures they flattered themselves they should reach by it! For certainly neither the English nor the French diplomatist desired or contemplated the destruction of the temporal power of the Papacy.

Whence did the possibility of such an error arise? It arose, I think, from the same causes that place the "old Catholics" of the present day in a logically untenable position. They say that the Papacy has changed Catholicism, and that they have not changed. But to show this to be so, they go back to the primitive ages. And moving the venue to that date, they are right. But they accepted the Catholicism of half a century ago. And (with the exception of the Immaculate Conception, itself but a recognition, not an invention) nothing has been changed since that time. Only logical sequences have been pitilessly educed, recognised, and proclaimed. The jog-trot, comfortable old Church, which those accepted who now say that they cannot live in the Church such as Pius the Ninth has made it, was such as they found tolerable only by dint of *quieta non movere*—letting things alone, not poking into the consequences of theories, not insisting that a thing should be taken to mean all that it necessarily implies and involves;

and by willingness that common assertions and professions should be silently understood to mean one thing by one person and another by others.

Now the old diplomatists, who knew the Church as it had appeared any time for the last two hundred years in protocols and conference chambers, and the conversations and despatches of Nuncios and Secretaries of State, but who knew nothing about the Church as she appeared—or rather as she did not appear, but as she might have been discovered to be—in the doctrinal definitions of councils, and the bulls and briefs of a long line of Pontiffs, were in a like error, more excusably, seeing that their business had never been with the Church, save in its capacity as a State. Their advice, therefore, and their proposals with regard to the Papacy were those of statesmen dealing with a State—a Government. They knew that Europe was in an explosive condition. They knew that one of the most dangerous and unventilated parts of the mine was those ancient workings in the deep Papacy shaft. And they imagined that light and air might be let into those, and safety attained there, as in others, by the same means! For the outside world to know the Church, as we all now know it—its real desires, its real professions, its

real principles and objects—it was absolutely necessary that the temporal power should be at an end. Before that, the Ecclesiastical Church was hidden, eclipsed by the State Church, which had to talk a very different language, and exhibit itself under a very different aspect. The inevitable "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint*," could not possibly have been seen and understood by Lord Palmerston and by Pellegrino Rossi, as we now see and understand it.

But there were people about Pius the Ninth who began to understand it well enough in the course of that autumn and winter. They would have understood it sooner, had it not been that they were ignorant of just the other side of the equation, from that which the diplomatists could not understand. The advisers of Pius knew what their Church was and wanted well enough; but they did not sufficiently appreciate and understand the meaning and consequences involved in the measures of reform they acceded to. But very soon after the establishment of the Consulta in November, 1847, they began to do so.

I have said that the speech which the Pope made to the persons who had been chosen to form the new *Consulta*, consisted in great part of warnings respect-

ing the limits of their mission, and that statements of what they were expected to do were largely mingled with very strictly-spoken prohibitions of things which they were *not* to do. Now it was observable that these portions of the Holy Father's address were known throughout the city in the twinkling of an eye! "It was considered desirable," says Farini, "to raise doubts and misgivings in men's minds, and to insinuate that the Pope was disinclined to grant those larger concessions which the people desired, and which perchance the condition of the times might demand, for from doubt to mistrust is but a step; and from the latter to agitation and disturbance is but another; and when there are materials for suspicion to work upon, it is easy to make of mistrust and agitation a lever for moving popular passions."

The remark indicates that the historian was aware that some at least among the leaders of the people at Rome were already consciously bent on forcing the Pontiff's hand. But he did not know that all this was done according to a matured plan and in obedience to orders received from the leaders of the secret societies.

The proclamation which announced the institution of the *Consulta* was dated the 19th of April; but

the meeting of the members did not take place till the 14th of November; and it is necessary to go back a little from this latter date, to mention a few of the symptomatic events that were almost from day to day indicating the direction of the popular current in Rome.

One of the signs of the times was the sudden multiplication of newspapers. In old times there had existed but one newspaper in Rome, the *Diario*, founded in 1616, and appearing twice a week. Another, to appear weekly, was added in 1815, which was called *Notizie del Giorno*. On the 12th of December, 1846, the *Contemporaneo*, announced as a "progressive but moderate" journal, and counting among its founders the Prelate Gazzola, and Masi the Secretary of Carlo Buonaparte, Prince of Canino —the same who subsequently, when selling the estate of Canino, which carried the title of "Prince" with it, insisted on the insertion of a separate article in the treaty specifying that five *pauls*, about a couple of shillings, was to be paid extra for the title—to mark his valuation of it. The *Contemporaneo* was soon followed in the course of this 1847 by several others, some of which obtained a considerable local celebrity, as the *Bilancia*, the *Italico*, the *Pallade*,

and the *Speranza.* These were all of them moderate in their tone, and professed opinions consentaneous with the views of the Holy Father.

There existed, however, still a Censorship, to which these papers were subjected; and, inasmuch as neither the existence of any Censorship whatever, nor the political tone of these authorised journals satisfied the masses, whose ideas were daily more and more outrunning the intentions of the Government, a clandestine journalism soon arose, which found the means of escaping the vigilance of the police, and continually excited the people to new demands and more radical measures of change.

Another means of keeping alive the political effervescence and propagating revolutionary ideas was discovered in the institution of clubs; *Circoli,* as they were called, the real object of all of which, however partially disguised in some of them by various other objects (more or less overtly pretexts), was political discussion. The first was a "Società Artistica," in which besides those indicated by the name of the society many persons of note were enrolled, as the Cardinal Morini, the Count of Syracuse, the Princes Aldobrandini, Borghese, Doria, and the Dukes Salviati and Torlonia. Many other *Circoli* were very

shortly established in imitation of the first, as that of the Lawyers, that of the Medical men, that of the Students, and even one of the Clergy. Another also was founded for the people. But very little time elapsed before these Clubs began to make their influence felt as organs of what in fact was sedition. And it was one of the most singular indications of the confused condition of men's minds, and of the wonderful degree in which a large portion of the people were being led blindfold they knew not whither, to see such men as those who have been named above taking a part in such associations. But the fact was, that not only did the persons named and the classes to which they belonged not know whither the path they were pursuing necessarily led, but no man knew how far in the direction in which they were all going the Pontiff meant to go, how far it was safe to go, how far it was necessary to go, in order to avoid the catastrophe which all saw to have been imminent at the death of Gregory the Sixteenth.

Gradually, however, it became clearer and clearer that the populace was taking the bit between its teeth, and that danger was at hand. The Pontiff was still dosed with the soothing syrup of flattery, which seems to have lulled him into deafness to

warnings, hardly, one would have thought, to be mistaken.

On the 25th of March, the festival of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the Pontiff went in state, according to immemorial custom, to the Church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. An immense concourse of people lined the streets through which he passed, and as usual the shouts of "Evviva!" and vociferations expressive of devotion to Pius the Ninth were as abundant and as noisy as ever. But they were mingled with cries of "Down with Gizzi!" the Secretary of State recently so popular; "Viva Pio Nono *alone!*" "Take courage, Holy Father!" "Have faith in the people!" and other such like significant words.

Towards the end of May in that year the Holy Father made a little excursion to Subiaco, a little town among the Sabine hills, some twelve miles or so behind Tivoli (once celebrated for the Benedictine convent, built over the cave in which St. Benedict for awhile had his habitation), returning to Rome on the 31st. At the second milestone outside the Porto San Lorenzo, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Basilica di San Lorenzo, the fine old mosaics of which were subsequently restored by the care and cost of

the present Pontiff, he was met by a vast crowd, with as usual the inevitable Ciceruacchio at their head. There were the usual noisy greetings, in the midst of which a knot of young men advanced to the Pope's carriage, stopped it, and handed him a petition which was in fact a violent complaint of the Governor of Rome, the Prelate Grassellini, for his severity against the printers and sellers of the clandestine papers. The Pope became very angry, and ordered the postilions to proceed. "He was consoled," naïvely writes the historian* Coppi, "by finding when he arrived at the Quirinal, the whole piazza full of people, assembled to welcome his return." Neither the poor vanity-deluded Pope nor the historian had any idea that the object of the crowd in coming was entirely the same as that of those who stopped his carriage at San Lorenzo!

Events, however, each one of which must have contributed to open his eyes to the real nature of the position, followed each other quickly one on the heels of another. The next day, the 1st of June, was the anniversary of the death of Gregory the Six-

* "Annals, 1847," sect. xxxi. It may be mentioned that Coppi, the continuer of Muratori, who writes all the Roman portion of his annals as an eye-witness, is, though not without ecclesiastical sympathies, perfectly accurate and trustworthy.

teenth; and the same people who were "encouraging" Pius the Ninth with their "evvivas" and shouting throngs, to give him a further hint of the direction in which he was expected to move, conceived the idea of "celebrating" the anniversary of the old Pope's death. There were banquets and revelry protracted far into the night, and rejoicings as odious in sentiment as they were revolutionary in intention. Of course everybody knew that poor old Gregory had been an obstacle and a misfortune, and that it was a good day for the world when he was taken away. But to celebrate his death in the fashion described was an indecent outrage to his successor, which could not have been perpetrated by men who had the smallest reverence, or felt the smallest goodwill towards the reigning Pontiff.

The "anniversary" of the death of the late Pope having been thus put to profit, the quickly succeeding "anniversary" of the election of his successor offered Ciceruacchio and the lazy vagabonds who "represented," not untruly, the Roman population, and obeyed his orders, the opportunity for more "demonstrations." It was determined that the inhabitants of the surrounding towns and villages should be invited to come in to Rome to take part

in the festival. Ciceruacchio made a tour to Albano, Genzano, Marino, Frascati, Zagarolo, Tivoli, Subiaco, etc., etc., and enlisted in all these places large numbers of recruits for the monster demonstration. On the morning of the 17th of June, accordingly, an immense concourse of people assembled in the Forum. They had banners for each of the "Rioni," or wards of Rome, banners for each of the towns in the neighbourhood, and some from cities at a greater distance, as from Bologna. There were flags, too, on which were inscribed such words as "Instruction!" "A Code!" "Railways!" "Pius the Ninth, the Father of his country!" "Fœdus populi!" and the like. All the huge multitude was after a while got into organised movement, and proceeded to the Quirinal. There "a hymn" fitted to the occasion was sung; and the poor befooled Pontiff, still delighted at finding himself the object of so much admiration, and the cynosure of so many eyes, blessed and thanked, and thanked and blessed as usual. In the afternoon, in the church of Santa Maria degli Angioli, one Gavazzi, a Barnabite monk, who subsequently contrived to obtain a larger audience for his vulgar and insincere eloquence, preached to the crowd and obtained applause by his diatribes against Gregory the Sixteenth.

Meanwhile the agitators in the clubs—the Circoli, of which mention has been made—were actively contributing to the approaching catastrophe. A petition was got up couched in the terms of fulsome flattery, which were so dear to the Pontiff's ears, but plainly expressing distrust of his advisers, and urging him to "trust to the people," a recommendation the very terms of which might almost have been copied from the old tale of the fox and the goose! Coming events, however, followed each other so quickly, that the petition was never presented. But the Government were not unaware of the intention, or ignorant of the contents, of the document which had been prepared.

It would seem to have been about this time, after one year of glorious sailing before the favouring gale of popularity and the admiration of mankind, that Pius began to conceive some degree of alarm as to the possible dangers of the course in which he was being carried along in that *maelstrom* of popularity —a fear lest an upset might come from the continually increasing velocity of the progress of the car of State! And the result was a proclamation issued by Cardinal Gizzi on the 22nd of June. In this document the Romans were reminded that Pius the

Ninth, having mounted the throne eager for the welfare of his subjects, and anxious only to do good to them, had in the single year which had elapsed since his election, accomplished much. He had listened to the needs, the complaints, the sorrows of all. He had admitted all persons to his presence without distinction of rank. He had given his attention to plans for public education. He had accorded lines of railway. He had formed a commission of jurists of the highest character for the revision and amelioration of the Roman legislation. He had been engaged on plans for a municipality for the city of Rome. He had created a council of ministers. He had called from the provinces to the capital men of uprightness and capacity (the Consulta) to assist him in ameliorating the finances of the State. "And Pius," the proclamation went on to state, "was fully minded to proceed in the same path of improvement. But he was equally determined to do so only with well-pondered and gradual progress, wisely, moderately, and *within those limits determined by the conditions essential to the sovereignty and the temporal government of the head of the Catholic Church.*" This last phrase of course hit, right in the bull's-eye, the nucleus of the whole difficulty of the situation. And

those who knew anything of the "conditions essential to the sovereignty and the temporal governments of the head of the Catholic Church," ought to have perceived with the utmost clearness that this was a difficulty that could not be turned, or overcome; that it was simply, and once for all, fatal to the notion of bringing the temporal government of a Pope into conformity with the constitutional notions prevailing in the other countries of Europe, and the wishes of his own subjects.

"Under these circumstances," the proclamation goes on to say, "it has been with great pain that the Holy Father has seen, that certain evil-minded persons wished to take advantage of the present state of things to set forth and cause the prevalence of doctrines and ideas wholly contrary to his maxims, and to urge him, and impose on him notions utterly opposed to the tranquil and peaceful character, and the sublime position of him who is the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the minister of a God of peace, and the common father of all Catholics. It saddens the Holy Father that these evil-minded men should excite in the people, by spoken words and by writings, desires and expectations of reforms which extend beyond the limits above indicated." Fortu-

nately, however, the proclamation goes on to say, as such proclamations invariably do say, such evil-minded men are very few, and the vast majority of right-minded men will continue to restrain them, as has hitherto been the case. And now at the end of the first year of his pontificate, the Holy Father desires a proof of the gratitude and devotion of his loving subjects, which he trusts they will give him by discontinuing all unusual popular gatherings and manifestations, and by maintaining that state of calm, order, and concord, which most become a people, etc., etc.

But the Government soon found that it was too late in the day to hope for obedience to any such *requests*. On the 4th of July Ciceruacchio assembled a huge crowd at the Torre di Quinto, outside the Porta del Popolo. The pretext was to prevent the Jews from being insulted; the real object, to make and to hear the usual exciting speeches, and to spend a day in drinking and idleness for patriotic purposes.

It was amid these circumstances, becoming more threatening from day to day, that the Pope determined on taking the very important step of creating a "Civic Guard," so called by the authorities; but the people from the first insisted on calling it a

"National Guard." The notion that a bulwark against the rising sea of popular violence might be provided by such means, seems to indicate that the authorities really believed the statement made in the proclamation, to the effect that the enemies of the Government were but few. It was not long, however, before the results of the measure revealed to them the truth on this point. The decree creating this "Guardia Civica," which was to consist of every male inhabitant throughout the States of the Church, between twenty-one and sixty, who possessed property, or kept a shop, or was the head of an industrial establishment, bears date the 30th of July, 1847.

Cardinal Gizzi, the Secretary of State, had from the first disapproved of the creation of the Civic Guard, deeming the institution a dangerous one, especially in the Legations. He therefore resigned on the 6th of July, and was replaced by the Cardinal Gabriele Ferretti, who was, at the time, Legate of Urbino and Pesaro.

Gizzi thus jumped from the machine in time to save himself from the coming catastrophe.

CHAPTER V.

CARDINAL GIZZI'S RESIGNATION.—BANQUET TO CICERUACCHIO.—AGAIN ON THE 29TH JULY.—STATUE OF HIM.—FRATERNISATION OF TROOPS WITH CIVIC GUARD.—CONFEDERATION OF STATES.—MAZZINI'S LETTER TO PIUS THE NINTH.—PIUS ALWAYS A PRIEST BEFORE ALL ELSE.—INAUGURATION OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF ROME, 24TH NOVEMBER.—BANNERS OF THE RIONI CONSIGNED TO MUNICIPALITY.—CARDINAL ALTIERI.—THE CAPI-POPOLO.—ANNIVERSARY OF THE POPE'S NAME-DAY, 27TH OF DECEMBER.—THE THIRTY-FIVE TABLETS WITH INSCRIPTION OF DEMANDS.—CICERUACCHIO DEPOSITS THEM AT THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

THE determination of Cardinal Gizzi to abandon the helm should have been a very significative warning to the Pontiff of the rocks ahead. Gizzi knew the people he had to deal with, and the special difficulties with which the Government had to struggle, far better than the Pope did; and he was a man possessing an intelligence of very much superior calibre to that of the Holy Father. And it is very natural

that this should have operated to prevent the Pope from having full confidence in his judgment. When he was gone, things continued to advance in the path prepared for them.

On the 18th of July, the "Circolo Romano" offered a banquet to Ciceruacchio, in attestation of gratitude for the services he had rendered in preventing the popular enthusiasm from breaking out into acts of disorder. Prince Aldobrandini presided, with Ciceruacchio (in his ordinary working dress; not because he had not plenty of good coats, for he was a wealthy man, but in homage to the ideas of the time) at his right hand, and Professor Orioli, the oldest man present, on his left. The Prince of Piombino and the Duke of Rignano were among the guests. A golden snuff-box was presented to the hero of the feast during the banquet. On the 5th of September, at the drawing of a lottery which had been arranged for the benefit of the amnestied prisoners and exiles, Cardinal Ferretti, the new Secretary of State, who was presiding, called Ciceruacchio to him, and spoke to him in the most flattering terms. On the 29th of the same month, the day dedicated to St. Angelo, Ciceruacchio's christened name, another banquet was given in his honour;

and the sculptor Russetti made a statue of him, from which a vast number of small-sized copies were taken, which might have been seen in the rooms of all the magnates of Rome! With such bullock-like stupidity did they enter the slaughter-house one after the other! With such naïve simplicity did they flatter and bribe their saviour of society, the tavern-keeper, in their gratitude to him for not injuring his own plans and hopes by undue precipitation! I have never met in these latter days with one of these statuettes, once so abundant; and doubt whether one is to be seen in Rome! *Sic transit!*

The next step in advance was to make sure of the disposition of the papal troops; and this was accomplished by a grand "fraternisation" between them and the Guardia Civica, which took place on the 7th of October on the meadows near the Ponte Milvio, whence the civic troops and the regulars marched in to the city together late in the evening, amid the enthusiastic shoutings and greetings of the people.

In careful and well-arranged obedience to the instructions given by Mazzini, above referred to, and printed in an appendix to this volume, the idea put forward by those who were aspiring to the destruction of all the then constituted governments in Italy,

and the unity of the peninsula under one republican *régime*, was that of a "Confederation" of the various existing States. And Pius the Ninth, blinded as usual by his vanity, and craving for the "glory" of placing himself at the head of such a confederation, was not only favourable to the idea, but boasted that the conception was his own.* As a step towards realising it, a customs union between the Roman States, Tuscany, and Piedmont was proposed, and carried into effect.

It was about this time that Mazzini, true to his maxim of leading the great ones of the earth by their vanity, without allowing them to know more of the way in which they were being led than the first step before them, wrote a remarkable letter to Pius the Ninth, instigating him to bring about the unification of Italy, and pointing out to him that for the accomplishment of this end there was no need for him to take any active step, but only to bless those who should act in his name. It lay with him, he went on to observe, to exercise the noble power of making those two terms, "God" and "the People," which had been too often fatally disjoined, united, and potent in a beautiful and holy harmony, to direct the

* "Gazetta di Roma," 1847, No. 153.

destinies of the nations! Here, as on every other occasion, Mazzini showed himself a consummate master of the art of knowing how best to influence those whom he would lead. And Pius was willing enough to accept the *rôle* proposed to him; and, indeed, tried it, until it became too evident for even him to be blind to the fact, that it was fatally and for ever incompatible with the ecclesiastical pretensions of his position. For Pius was, and has consistently been throughout, a priest before all else. The Church may well make much of him; for he has been true to her under every circumstance, and was ready, as soon as ever the necessity for choosing between the two became evident to him, to give up for her all his dreams of Italian primacy, of universal admiration, and a Saturnian reign of universal happiness and brotherhood in which he should be the grand central figure, and feast unceasingly on the admiring homage of mankind.

It would be too long to recount each one of the successive steps by which, on every recurring occasion, the populace, led by the *Capi-popolo*, as they were termed, advanced in the boldness and revolutionary nature of their demands. In a word, the programme which the arch-conspirator had laid down

for them, was carried out with an exactitude which indicates the perfection of the organisation he and his lieutenants had succeeded in establishing. Each occasion, each anniversary—and every event of the new Papacy was made an occasion for an anniversary —each new concession, was made a cause for gatherings of the masses, to "thank, and demand more."

On the 24th of November came the inauguration of the new Municipality of Rome, and the *Capipopolo,* at a loss for some means for hooking themselves on to the ceremonial of the occasion, took it into their heads that they would present to the municipal body the twenty-four standards which had been made for the twenty-four rioni (wards) of Rome, as considering them the proper custodians of them. The police authorities, who had always looked askance at these banners, and felt uneasy and suspicious of them, as aids and incentives to those never-ending assemblages of the people, favoured the notion of having them laid up in ordinary at the Municipality. They would have much preferred that they should have been burned; but they deemed them less likely to serve mischievous purposes, while in the keeping of the municipal authorities, than while they remained in the private dwellings of the

Capi-popolo. So a grand ceremony was organised, and the twenty-four banners, accompanied by all the idle vagabonds who wanted an excuse for making a holiday, were carried in procession to the Capitol, where one Piccioni, a tobacconist, made a patronising speech to the municipal councillors, telling them what their duty was, and bidding them take care to do it. Cardinal Altieri was presiding on the occasion, in his capacity of President of Rome and the Comarca; and it must have been a new experience to his Eminence, and, as it were, a landmark, showing how far the current had carried the barque of the State down the stream in a very short time, to hear himself thus addressed by a tobacconist!

The Cardinal however, who, like most of his order, was beginning by this time to feel that it would be well for them indeed if they could get over what lay immediately before them at the cost of nothing worse than a little loss of dignity, dissembled his disgust, and replied, as a chronicler of the time tells us, with a fitting and prudent discourse, concluding by handing to each banner-carrier a medal in the name of Pius the Ninth, as a recompense for faithful obedience and filial affection. And, as a little indication of the road matters were following,

and of the prudence of the Government, it should be borne in mind that these four and twenty *Capi-popolo*, as they called themselves, these chiefs of the people, were such by virtue of no sort of appointment or choice whatever, not even of election by their fellows. They were accepted as chiefs solely and entirely because they were more noisy than their equals, more wordy, more vainglorious, and more determined to make a trade of leading the people instead of working at their own!

There was another anniversary to be got over, before the weary year could get to an end—the festival of St. John, on the 27th of December—the "name-day" of the Pontiff. Of course something special was to be got up for this occasion; something, of course, which his so loving and grateful subjects knew must be pleasing and comforting to the ruler for whom they professed to feel such enthusiastic and boundless attachment. So they prepared;—Cicer-uacchio was the principal moving power upon this occasion—thirty-five tablets, to be carried on as many standards, which "the people" were to present to the eyes of the Pontiff, when they visited him on his birthday.

On these tablets were inscribed five and thirty new

demands made on behalf of the people. "Liberty of the Press!"—"Emancipation of the Jews!"—"Banishment of the Jesuits!"—"Abolition of arbitrary action on the part of the police!"—"Codes of useful and impartial laws!"—"Abolition of entails!"—"Abolition of mortmain!"—"Publicity of the acts of the Consulta!"—"Secularisation of employments!"—"Artillery for the Civic Guard!"—"Colonies in the Campagna!" with many more, and finally, "Faith in the people."

Many of these demands were for things extremely good and desirable, but utterly incompatible not only with the Pontiff's announced determination to hand down to his successors the power unimpaired which he had received from his predecessors, but with the existence of the temporal power of the Papacy; some of them were such as only a Government of absolute madmen could have dreamed of granting; such as the placing artillery in the hands of the Civic Guard!

A violent downpour of rain on the 27th interfered somewhat with the plans of the demonstrationists. The tablets were all prepared; but the people could not be got to go with them at the cost of being wetted to the skin. Ciceruacchio therefore was

obliged to carry them himself to the office of the Secretary of State, where he deposited them; and then having got together a hundred or so of ragga-muffins, paid for the job, and prepared another tablet, with the inscription—"On a day so joyful the Roman people makes no demand, but refers the Pope to the petitions presented by Ciceruacchio in the name of the people." He went with that and a band of music to the Quirinal, and there made the usual uproar. The Pope, who knew his summons well by this time, came out to the balcony, took no notice of the tablet or its inscription, but gave the people his blessing, and got in again as quick as he could!

His blessing? well! that is what the historians say!

And thus the year 1847 came to an end!

CHAPTER VI.

NEW COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.—NEW SENATE.—GENERAL ASPECT OF AFFAIRS IN EUROPE.—IMPOSSIBILITIES OF THE SITUATION. —SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PONTIFF.—RESIGNATIONS OF MINISTERS.—WAR WITH AUSTRIA THE REAL DESIRE OF THE PEOPLE.—CRISIS BROUGHT ABOUT BY THIS FACT.—ADVANCE OF AUSTRIAN TROOPS.—DEPUTATION FROM THE "CIRCOLO ROMANO."—REPLY OF PIUS.—PROCLAMATION OF THE MINISTRY.—POPE'S ADDRESS TO THE ROMANS.—FIRST ALARM OF THE PONTIFF.—HIS SPEECH TO OFFICERS OF THE CIVIC GUARD.—DEMAND FOR A CONSTITUTION.—THE POPE'S CONDITIONAL BLESSING.—DIFFICULTY OF KNOWING THE POPE'S INTENTIONS.—THE POPE INDOCTRINATED WITH THE IDEAS OF GIOBERTI.—BUT TOO WEAK FOR THE PART.—FRESH RESIGNATIONS OF MINISTERS.—ANTONELLI AND MINGHETTI.—A CONSTITUTION PROMISED.—SPECIAL CHARACTER.—AND PUBLICATION OF IT.

THE Council of Ministers, which, in accordance with the papal decree of the 29th of December of the previous year, entered into office on the first of the new year, 1848, was thus composed: Cardinal

Ferretti, Secretary of State, was also Minister for Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council; Cardinal Riario Sforza was Minister of Commerce, Fine Arts, Industry and Agriculture; Cardinal Mezzofanti, Public Instruction; Monsignore Camillo Amicci, Minister for Home Affairs; Monsignore Roberto Roberti, Minister of Justice; Monsignore Carlo Morichini, Minister of Finance; Monsignore Domenico Savelli, Minister of Police; and Monsignore Giovanni Rusconi, Minister of War. Within the month, however, Cardinal Ferretti resigned; and was succeeded by Cardinal Bofondi. And there were some other changes, of which it is only necessary to notice the appointment of the Commendatore Pompeo dei Principi Gabrielli, a Lieutenant-General, as Minister of War; every one of the others, it will be observed, being an ecclesiastic.

The new Senate also entered on its functions on the first of the year; and brought with it to the exercise of them so little of new knowledge or new ideas, that its first act was to order in true old Roman style, a distribution of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds of bread, and thirty thousand pounds of meat!

Any attempt to show how the general aspect of

affairs in Europe at the beginning of that memorable year of 1848, and the events which followed each other so rapidly in the different countries of the Continent, influenced the state of men's minds, and the difficulties with which the Pontiff and his Government had to struggle, would lead us much too far afield, and too far away from the immediate subject of this volume. Fortunately the general story of those events is too fresh in the minds of all readers, for there to be any danger that this influence should be forgotten or misunderstood. Of course the position of the Papal Government was rendered far more critical by those events, and the task before it more arduous. And in speaking of the course pursued by the Papal Government, and the measures it adopted, it is now very easy to show that they were unwise, imprudent, and inspired by an entire blindness to the symptoms that were every day becoming more and more unmistakable around them. But it would be far more difficult to point out what better they could have done! In fact the task before them was an impossible rather than an arduous one. Every day and almost every hour of those months brought more and more irresistibly home to the conviction of those who were looking on, and it must be

supposed also of those who were engaged in the desperate attempt to turn the Pope of Rome into a constitutional Sovereign, the ever fatal truth of the candidly spoken "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint.*" Stir the ingredients as they would, the oil and the vinegar would not combine! And the incidents that continued to follow each other with a rapidity that gave to life at Rome during those months almost the aspect of a stage dramatic representation, served only to show the futility of the attempt to make them do so.

No doubt the intense vaingloriousness of the Pope's character, and the exceeding pleasure it gave him to hear the "evvivas" and noisy homage of the people, and to believe in the transparent fiction of their affection for him (possibly genuine among the lowest classes, and during the first days);—no doubt this specialty of Pius the Ninth's character contributed to lead up to the events which followed, and to make the story of that portion of his life assume exactly the aspect it did assume. But it is difficult to suppose that a man of any other temperament could have conducted matters to a different issue, though he might have reached the same issue by a somewhat different path. It may safely be asserted

that not even a Sixtus the Fifth could have conducted them to a successful one.

It is a curious question, however, how soon Pius the Ninth became aware that he was placed on a slippery inclined plane, and that to stop, or even to moderate the speed of his descent over the surface of it, was entirely out of his power. The rapidity and prompt decision with which he flung himself off that dangerous inclined plane, and set to work with might and main to climb again the steep he had descended, as soon as the direction in which he was moving, and the goal to which he was tending, *were* unmistakably manifest to him, would seem to justify the supposition that he did not realise those facts till he took the steps in question. It seems the more remarkable that he should have been hoodwinked as long as he must be supposed to have been, from the fact that the advisers nearest to his person evidently were not so hoodwinked. Gizzi resigned! Ferretti resigned! Surely the outlook must have been a disquieting one! Lambruschini and the Gregorians, of course, knew well whither the barque of St. Peter was tending; but had they been called to the wheel, they would have instantly capsized the ship in putting her sharp about!

But the circumstances which actually did bring matters to a crisis at Rome, were not those that must necessarily have done so in the process of their ordinary working, if such ordinary working had been allowed to go on. Questions of internal government would have continued more and more to develop the incompatibility between all possible papal and constitutional rule. But there was nothing necessarily incompatible between the papal temporal power and the line of conduct which the Romans wished their Government to adopt with reference to foreign affairs. Yet it was a question connected with the latter that finally made a rupture between Pius and his subjects.

The real question of the day, the passion of the people, which was the real motive power at that time, was the independence of Italy from the yoke of the foreigner, and from that of the sovereigns, who were merely his lieutenants. Had even the King of Naples gone whole-heartedly into a war with Austria for the liberation of Lombardy and Venetia, his own throne would have been safe. Yet more so, had the Grand Duke of Tuscany ventured to cut himself adrift from the ties that bound him to Austria, and frankly made himself the ally of the King of Sardinia

against Austria. His duchy would have been secured to him, and no united Kingdom of Italy would be in existence at this hour. If the Pope, again, had taken the same line (and if he had done so, the Grand Duke would become the firm ally of Sardinia) it is difficult to say what the result, as regards the Apostolic dominions, might have been. The notion of a confederation of constitutionally governed States, with the Pope and his State at the head of them, would have lasted somewhat longer. Austria would have been much puzzled; for it would have been more difficult to compel the Pope to govern according to the old system in his own States, than to overcome the Italian forces in the field. But the world would have had the spectacle played out, instead of being cut short, of a Pope playing at constitutional government till the inherent nature of things brought the attempt to a dead lock.

As it was, it was the demand of the Romans that the Pope should take up arms against Austria, which brought all the billing and cooing, the anniversaries and the "evvivas," and the benedictions and the affection, to a sudden ending.

The advance of the Austrian troops into the Modenese territory gave the Romans reason to fear

that Austria might proceed to a military occupation of the States of the Church, or rather gave them an opportunity of speaking their fears aloud. There was no doubt at all that Austria was extremely displeased and indeed alarmed, by the liberalising tendencies of the Pope, coinciding in time, as they were, with successful rebellion in Naples, national Italian aspirations in Piedmont, disaffection with difficulty suppressed in Lombarby and Venetia, and temporising vacillation in Tuscany. The "Circolo Romano," a popular club, as has been explained, but to which many of the highest aristocracy belonged, determined to petition the Government to arm. And the "Consulta," that species of Parliament the foundation of which was described in a former chapter, expressed its opinion in a like sense. But inasmuch as nothing was immediately done towards carrying out the opinion thus expressed, it became believed that the Ministry was opposed to the armament demanded, and a very considerable amount of agitation was the consequence. Prince Aldobrandini, and others of the "Circolo Romano," went on the morning of the 8th of February to the Pope at the Quirinal, to inform him of the discontent of the city, and beg him to hasten the arming of the troops. On

the same day Ciceruacchio assembled a large crowd, which went to the Quirinal with the accustomed cries, "Viva Pio Nono, *solo!*" "Hurrah for Pio Nono without his advisers!" "Down with the men of bad faith!" "Hurrah for Italian Independence!" "Arms! Arms!" and the like. Ciceruacchio then went to Prince Corsini, as Senator, and to Prince Borghese as "Conservator of Rome," and induced them (strange as it seems now) to go with him to the Quirinal to urge the Holy Father to consent to the wishes of the people. In answer to their representations, Pius declared that he was in perfect accord with the King of Sardinia, and with the Grand Duke of Tuscany; that he should very shortly replace his present ministers by laymen; and that officers belonging to the armies of the sovereigns his allies would shortly come for the purpose of organising the Papal army. Corsini forthwith returned to the Piazza del Popolo, where the assembled crowd was, and reported to them these words of the Holy Father, which availed to induce them to disband themselves peaceably. But at the same time the police endeavoured to arrest Felice Orsini, Nicola Fabrizzi, and some other revolutionary leaders then in Rome, who, however, were able to save themselves by flight.

The next day, the 9th February, the Ministry met, and issued a proclamation in which they told the people that it was not true that the Ministers had rejected the counsel given by the Consulta in favour of arming; that large quantities of firearms had been ordered from France; but, at the same time, reminding the people that it was forbidden to them to meet and call themselves "Civic Guards," and assume arms without being duly summoned by their officers.

On the following day Pius published a long address to the people, in which, after endeavouring at length to persuade them that no cause existed for alarm or for taking up arms, there occurs this remarkable passage: "But we above all others, we the Head and Supreme Pontiff of the most Holy Catholic religion—shall not we, if we should be unjustly attacked, have innumerable sons to defend us, who would support the centre of the Catholic Unity as they would the house of a father? This above all, the infinite gift with which Heaven has endowed Italy is an immense privilege; that our subjects, barely three millions in number, have two hundred millions of brothers of all languages and of all nations! This was the safety of Rome in times

very different from the present, when all the Roman world was in confusion. By virtue of this the ruin of Italy was never completed. This will be always her safety as long as this Apostolic See shall remain in the midst of her!"

The notions here expressed were anything but pleasing to the progressists. Nevertheless, true to their usual tactics, they assembled in great numbers on the 11th, and went to the Quirinal "to thank the Pontiff" for his gracious speech—and to present fresh demands. And it was upon this occasion that Pius seems for the first time to have been smitten by a sensation of personal alarm, and of misgiving as to the possible consequences of these tumultuous assemblages of the populace, for the purpose of expressing their affection for his person. On learning the intentions of the popular leaders, he called to him the superior officers of the Civic Guard and a number of the "Carabinieri," and addressing them not without agitation, said that, under the present circumstances, he confided his person and the persons of the Cardinals and other citizens to them. He told them, with a somewhat awkward want of tact, that he trusted them all the more seeing that it was their interest to prevent anarchy; and concluded by

saying: "I hope that the tranquillity of the city will not be disturbed; for it is known that the bulk of the people is faithful, while the agitators are few. But should it be otherwise, I shall be compelled to go elsewhere to await more tranquil days. I know that fault has been found with me for not having satisfied all the demands that have been made to me. But I will nominate a commission to examine what has been done, and to see whether it will be in my power to make any further concessions. But if petitions are put forward contrary to the Church and to my sacred duties, I am resolved to shed the last drop of my blood at the feet of the Crucifix rather than accede to them."

The crowd came, as was expected, in very great numbers, with the usual cries of "Evviva!" for Pius the Ninth; but mingled with these were other cries, which had on every such recent occasion been heard, and ever marked by a gradually increasing audacity in the purport of them. On this occasion, cries of "Italy, freed from the Austrians!" "A Constitution!" "Down with the Priests!" were distinguishable among the vociferations of the multitude.

Pius the Ninth came out to the balcony as usual, but accompanied by the officers he had called around

them. He distinguished the seditious cries among the "evvivas" addressed to him, and thought it well to say a few words to them before imparting the accustomed blessing. "Be faithful," he said, "to the Pontiff! Do not ask what is contrary to the Church and to Religion? Certain voices, certain cries reach my ears, proceeding not from the many but from the few, which I neither will nor can admit. I pray God therefore to bless you under the express condition that you are faithful to the Church and to the Pontiff. Thus much premised I bless you with all my heart. Remember to be faithful to God and to the Holy See."

These words were received with an immense burst of cheering, and the crowd dispersed peaceably. But surely, Pius must by this time have learned the worth of such cheering!

But it might have been answered to the observations of the Pontiff, that it was becoming somewhat difficult to know in what fidelity to the Holy Father and the Holy See consisted. And from this time forward every day that passed made this question a more doubtful one. What the Pope's subjects—including by no means only the turbulent men, who made a lazy business of going to exercise their lungs

in front of the Quirinal Palace, but a very large portion of the aristocracy of the country, wanted was to become the allies of Piedmont, and to join in a whole-hearted and earnest struggle against Austria for the liberation of Italy from the yoke of the foreigner. Was this fidelity to the Supreme Pontiff? There were of course many other matters in the background—matters of internal government—on which it was very certain that the Pope and his subjects would not be able to come to a friendly understanding. This was so certain, that it seems now perfectly inconceivable that either party should have been able to flatter themselves that any other issue was possible. But these matters were for the nonce thrown into the background by the absorbing desire of the people to free Italy from the grasp of the foreigner. And the question, what *was* fidelity to the Pontiff, as regards this the burning question of the hour, became a really very difficult one to decide. What were the wishes of the Pontiff on the subject?

Now there can be little doubt what the visions and dreams of Giovanni Mastai were when he ascended the papal throne. He had been indoctrinated by the theories of Gioberti—splendid, magnificent,

most eloquently—one may say almost gorgeously—displayed phantasmagoria, throwing on the white sheet of the imagination, unstained by ugly facts, grand processions of figures, representing Italy marching at the head of humanity to ulterior heights of civilisation and improvement, herself captained by that transcendently noble ideal hero, a truly Christian Pope, the lineal representative and heir to all the glories of the Papacy, while purged by contact with modern thought of all the stains contracted by it in its passage across the eighteen centuries of the world's troubled teething time! This was Gioberti-nism—visions, though noble, baseless as a sick man's dream. And this was the Pope, Giovanni Mastai conceived himself called to become, when his ears first drank in the incense so delicious to them, which his people, and indeed the world, offered to him.

The nature of the man was an unfortunate one for the part he was called upon to play. He was unfortunately fitted to conceive the part sketched out for him by the author of the "Primato," but unfortunately most unfitted for the playing of it. He was a Hamlet, who might have exclaimed with the over-weighted prince :

"The world is out of joint! Oh, cursed spite
That I was ever born to set it right!"

if he had ever possessed as much self-knowledge as Hamlet.

He had an old brother—long since dead—a plain-spoken old soldier, who had served under Napoleon, who judged his brother and his capabilities more justly—remarking to a friend of the present writer, who went to Florence to congratulate him on his brother's election, that it—the election—was the most unhappy thing that could have happened to his brother.

What Giovanni Mastai hoped, wished, dreamed when he became Pope is clear enough. But "what he would highly, that he would holily." And when the ugly realities of an internecine struggle, and that a struggle with a power which the more recent traditions of the Papacy had taught him to look upon as the fated and natural protector of the Holy See, began to loom clearly between him and those Giobertian visions he recoiled from the prospect before him. And yet this recoil was not clear, decided, frank, sincere, and open. He would have incurred a less amount of odium and unpopularity if he had, at the period of his story, which we have now reached, called Lam-

bruschini to his counsels, declared that he now perceived the hopes of ruling by the means he had proposed to himself to have been fallacious, and requested Austria to send a body of troops for his support and protection; or at least, if that should seem to be saying too much, he would have given less reason to reasonable men and to history to blame him, had he so acted. But like all weak and overtaxed men he vacillated; and did so to a degree and under circumstances which justify the accusation brought against him of insincerity, and of disregard for the interests and safety of the men whom he had at least allowed to march against Austria with the presumption that they were acting with his approbation and under his authority.

Meantime festivals and tumults, "evvivas," thanksgiving, and new demands, enthusiasm and sedition, followed each other turn and turn about, matters getting gradually worse and worse each day, the "enthusiasm" becoming less in proportion than the sedition, and the coming catastrophe more and more unmistakeable and evident to all eyes save those of the Pontiff, to whom it was still impossible to believe that all the protestations of affection for his person and admiration for his character, on

which he had been fed ever since his elevation, were empty words, wholly without real value of any kind.

Those who, next to himself, were most exposed to the violence of the rising storm began to desert their places and fly from it. In the middle of February, 1848, Cardinal Riario Sforza, the Minister of Fine Arts, Commerce, and Agriculture; Monsignore Amici, Minister for Home Affairs; Monsignore Savelli, Minister of Police; and Monsignore Rusconi, Minister of Public Works, resigned. The Pope nominated some members of the lay aristocracy of Rome to succeed them. But on the 10th of March Cardinal Bofondi, the Prime Minister, and the persons appointed in February all resigned together; and the Pope nominated Cardinal Antonelli as Prime Minister, and several laymen, among whom we find the name of Marcio Minghetti! "Powers eternal! Such names joined!" as Byron says. It is a singular instance of the strange manner in which the public men of the generation now passing from the scene have been pushed about and shuffled like a pack of cards into all sorts of the oddest combinations.

Pius kept his word to his subjects in naming

without loss of time the commission he had promised for the examination of the compatibilities and incompatibilities of the necessities of the ecclesiastical power with those of constitutional government. The members of this Commission were the Cardinals Ostini, Castracane, Orioli, Altieri, Antonelli and Bofondi, and the Prelates Carboli Bussi, Alessandro Bernabò and Teodoro Mertel — *all* ecclesiastics it will be observed. While they were deliberating, the Pope, in reply to fresh petitions from the Council and Senate, urging the publication of a "Statuto"—a constitution such as the other Italian sovereigns had more or less willingly and sincerely given to their subjects—said that, "Everybody knew that he was unweariedly labouring at the task of giving to his Government a form consentaneous with the exigencies of the day; that the difficulties which lay in the way of one uniting in himself two great dignitaries, in tracing the precise line which ought to divide the one power from the other, must be evident to every one; and that that which in a secular government might be done in a single night, could in the case of the Pontifical Government only be accomplished after mature examination. Nevertheless," he concluded, "I flatter myself that in a

few days I shall be in a position to announce that the task has been completed, a result which I trust will be to the contentment of all sensible persons, and therefore of yourselves and of the community. May God bless these desires and my labours!"

Strange words indeed these last, as compared with the doctrines of the famous "Syllabus," yet in the womb of the future!

But while the more moderate Liberals were thus asking for a constitution, a more advanced section actually proposed to the Pontiff to proclaim a republic, as the only means of safety for himself and the ecclesiastical power. There are probably many of the churchmen in high places at Rome who would now be disposed to think that the Pontiff might have done worse in the interest of the Church than to close with this proposal. It seems not to have been generally known, however, that any such proposal was made, till the Pope, subsequently, speaking in Consistory on the 20th April, 1849, alluded to the fact, saying that he "well remembered that night, and had still present to his eyes the misguided men who, miserably deluded and fascinated by the contrivers of fraud, did not hesitate to propose to him to proclaim the Republic!"

The Commission could not be accused of unduly prolonging its deliberations. On the 8th of March it produced a fundamental statute, which Pius the Ninth proclaimed on the 14th of that month. It provides for a couple of legislative Chambers, one to be nominated by the sovereign, and one elective, consisting of one deputy for every thirty thousand souls, electors to be possessors of property to the amount of three hundred crowns, or payers of twelve crowns of direct taxes. A sum of six hundred thousand crowns is to be set apart for ecclesiastical persons and purposes, respecting which no account is to be given and no questions asked by the deputies. Certain ecclesiastical dues, amounting to thirteen thousand crowns, together with some other specified sources of income, are to remain at the disposition of the Pontiff. All which might have been—for a time at least—tolerated. But the Chambers were to have no power to propose any law having reference to ecclesiastical *or mixed* affairs, or anything in contradiction with the canons or with Church discipline, "the Pontiff intending to maintain entire his authority in the matters which are naturally conjoined religion and with Catholic morality."

Are we to suppose that the Pontiff and the Com-

mission of dignified ecclesiastics who drew up this "statute," were not aware that ecclesiastical government had been found for centuries past intolerable in every part of the world in consequence of the difficulty of coming to an understanding with churchmen as to what matters "bore reference to ecclesiastical *or mixed* affairs," and are "naturally conjoined with religion and Catholic morality?" Had they never heard that the world considers its experience to have finally proved that, when the drawing of the line between such matters and others is left to ecclesiastics, the matters not included in those elastic categories are found to be—*nil?*

Perhaps it may be surmised that they never had heard anything of all this. At all events it must be imagined that the laity, to whom this constitution was granted, had no inkling of anything of the sort. For on the publication of the "Statuto" on the 15th of March the rejoicings, the applause, the shoutings, the thanking, the benedictions were renewed as frantically as in the first days of the new reign.

Saturnian reign clearly come back again after all!

CHAPTER VII.

THE "STATUTO" APPLAUDED.—THE WAR THE REAL QUESTION.—EXTENSION OF THE AMNESTY.—JEWS' QUARTER THROWN OPEN.—JESUITS SENT FROM ROME.—ADDRESS OF THE HOLY FATHER.—TUMULT IN THE STREETS.—AUSTRIAN ARMS TORN DOWN FROM THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.—ADDRESS TO THE HOLY FATHER.—DIFFICULTIES OF THE POPE'S POSITION.—TROOPS SENT TO THE FRONTIER.—DURANDO APPOINTED GENERAL.—DURANDO AT BOLOGNA.—HIS ADDRESS TO HIS TROOPS.—POPE'S DISAVOWAL OF DURANDO'S WORDS.—HIS EQUIVOCAL ORDERS TO DURANDO.—THE PASSING OF THE PO.—MINISTERS DEMAND FROM THE POPE CATEGORICAL INSTRUCTIONS AS TO THE WAR.—POPE'S REPLY.—PONTIFF'S SPEECH IN CONSISTORY ON THE 29TH OF APRIL.—DISASTROUS RESULTS OF THIS SPEECH.—DEPUTATION FROM THE "CIRCOLO" TO THE QUIRINAL.—CIVIC GUARDS TAKE POSSESSION OF THE GATES OF THE CITY.—DEMANDS MADE TO THE POPE BY THE MEMBERS OF THE "CIRCOLO."—MAMIANI AT THE QUIRINAL.—POPE'S REPLY TO THE DEMANDS.—DISCONTENT OF THE CITY.—THE "CIRCOLO" ALARMED.—CARDINALS TAKE REFUGE IN THE QUIRINAL.—NIGHT OF THE 30TH OF APRIL IN THE QUIRINAL.

PIUS THE NINTH cannot be accused of having been quick to abandon his high Giobertinian hopes, or to

have lost—some will say his nobly philanthropic affection for his people—others will say his overweening craving for vulgar admiration and applause. On the contrary, his hope, his faith, or his vanity led him to persevere, after all those around him, save such as limited their thoughts and efforts to making the best of the present moment, or such as were consciously bent on leading him on step by step to his own destruction, had given up the game. The publication of the "Statuto" had been hailed with enthusiasm and applause; and that doubtless gave him fresh encouragement. He probably was and is wholly incapable of understanding how and why such a constitution was unworkable, impossible, and certain to lead to further trouble and come to a bad ending. His applauding subjects were too ignorant or too insincere, and especially too busy with other thoughts and wishes to pay much attention to the real tendencies of the provisions of it. A "constitution" was understood to be the Liberal nostrum. The neighbouring liberalising populations were getting "constitutions," and that was enough for the moment.

The real question of the day was the war. Could or could not the Pope be driven to use his sovereign authority, as the master of an army, for the accom-

plishment of those results, which he, though letting "I dare not wait upon I would," doubtless really desired, and which his subjects were bent on achieving at all hazards? That was the burning question.

In the meantime the Pontiff continued his endeavours to please and pacify his subjects by conceding all such popular demands as seemed to him not utterly incompatible with what he had been taught to consider the inalienable rights of the Papacy; and his subjects continued to alternate "thankings" and ovations with turbulent gatherings and seditious manifestations and demands. On the 29th of March, twenty-four of those who had been excluded from the general amnesty were pardoned. In the night preceding the 18th of April—that year the Jewish Passover—Pius caused the walls which had till that time enclosed the Jewish quarter of the city, and the gates in which were always closed at night, to be thrown down.

A far more important and noteworthy concession dates from the same time. Throughout Italy the popular feeling had been very strongly roused against the Jesuits. They had been driven from almost all the cities of northern Italy. And the popular hostility

to the company showed itself in all parts of the papal territory by continued acts of insult and violence. On the 28th of March, Pius expressed to the Fathers his great grief at the ill-treatment inflicted on them, but at the same time counselled their departure, as a means of preventing disturbances and probable bloodshed. But the tendency of this measure was turned from good to evil by the circumstance that the Pope had on the 14th of March published a proclamation in which he said: "Romans, and all ye, subjects and sons of the Holy See, hear yet once again the voice of a father, who loves you! . . . We invite and inculcate on all of you to respect the Seat of the Holy Church. Do not be guilty of a scandal which would astonish the entire world, and afflict the greater number of our subjects. Spare the Pontiff, already sorely grieved by similar facts which have elsewhere occurred, this last drop of bitterness! But if unhappily these words of mine should not avail to restrain misguided men, it is my intention to appeal to the fidelity of the Civic Guard, and of all the forces destined to the preservation of order." The words thus uttered produced no effect whatever. The Holy Father did not appeal to the fidelity of the Civic Guard, which, as he probably well knew, would

not have responded to any such appeal, but on the contrary, gave way to the popular desire; facts, the moral and teaching of which were unquestionably better laid to heart than the Holy Father's pathetic exhortations!

The increasing impotence of the Government was demonstrated by other facts which happened from day to day. Tumultuous crowds assembled on the 11th of April, with cries of "Work and bread!" The sincerity of their cry and of their need was apparent from the fact that the crowd consisted mainly of men employed by the Government as scavengers, and excavators of antiquities. They were about two thousand three hundred in number, and their wages were about four thousand pauls a day. Money was given to them to quiet them; then forty-two were arrested, and then discharged. It had been worse on the Piazza di Venezia, on the 11th of March. On the receipt of the news of a revolution having broken out at Vienna, a tumultuous crowd, paid it was thought in great part by the Napoleonic Prince of Canino, went there, to the residence of the Austrian ambassador, pulled down the Austrian arms, burned them in the street, and then went to the Church of Ara Cœli to give thanks for the Austrian revolution.

The Civic Guard stood by while this was done, and did not interfere!

The very same evening the "Circolo Romano" held a meeting at which it was determined to "assist the Ministry" in sending troops to the frontier, and to demand "improvements" in the constitution; and on the 24th an address to the Pontiff was presented in which the Pope was told that "the benediction of God, invoked by your Holiness, has descended on Italy. God has heard the magnanimous voice which from the heights of the Sacred Vatican implored the triumph of the oppressed, the redemption of a nation! This day Italy is free, mistress of her own destinies, and independent. She is a nation. With hearts filled with ineffable joy, all the citizens of Italy turn themselves with confidence and hope to the generous Pontiff who initiated Italian regeneration, and supplicate him to complete his holy work! And to that end" . . . . the undersigned desire that a Diet of all the Italian provinces should be called by the Pope to Rome. Because "to your Holiness it belongs to add new splendour to the Papacy and to Religion, by rising to the supreme dignity of Moderator of all the Italian peoples, and by giving back to Rome its moral and civil primacy,

not only in Italy, but in Europe and in the whole world! All Italians are anxiously expecting the sound of the omnipotent voice, of the religious and civilising utterances of your Holiness. They desire to consecrate the triumph of their cause to you, to the standard of Religion, of Liberty, and of Fraternity in the Cross upon the eternal altar of their nation, on the Capitol!"

"Brave words!" though somewhat short in the article of meaning! But how well those who put them together knew the nature of the man they had to deal with, and the means by which it was most likely that he might be influenced! But this Diet of the peoples of Italy! and this sending out of soldiers with real guns, to shoot people and get shot! If only the omnipotent voice on the sacred heights of the Vatican, and the rising to be moderator of all the peoples, and the moral and civil primacy, and the liberty, religion, and fraternity around the Cross on the eternal altar of the Capitol, could all be managed comfortably among themselves at Rome! But that meddling with other sovereigns was so awkward. Pius felt that that would never do! But he went as far as he could in the desired direction by pushing the proposals he had initiated the

year before, for a confederation. But, "as the common Father of all the Faithful," the Pope did not wish to wage war against anybody. He desired only a defensive league. And in the course of that April he sent Monsignore Corboli-Bussi to King Carlo Alberto, to come to an understanding on that footing. But the King, who was already in the field, and who probably deemed the visit of a Prelate at that time and place inopportune, told Monsignore "that the present was not a time for treating or forming leagues, but for fighting; and that when the foreigner should have been driven out, he would talk to him."

Nevertheless, towards the end of March, when the news of the assembling of volunteers in all parts of Italy for assisting in the work of driving Austria out of Italy, was coming day after day to Rome, the popular desire to join in the work became uncontrollable; and Prince Aldobrandini, the Pope's Minister of War, announced to the crowds who surrounded the War Ministry, demanding to be armed and sent to the frontier, that "the Minister, considering the imperious circumstances of Italy, and the universal desire of the cities, orders as follows: An enrolment is opened in the office of the Ministry of

War. Colonel Farini is named to preside over the organisation of this body, which will march under his orders. General Durando is appointed to the command-in-chief of the army of operation."

Now with a papal War Minister making such an announcement, and a Pope who says he won't fight because he is the common Father of the Faithful, it will be admitted, as I said in a former chapter, that it had become difficult to know what exactly *was* fidelity to the sovereign! The difficulty increased as the days went on.

General Durando, at the end of March, went to Bologna, and collected there a force of seven thousand men. Ferrari, made a General, had the command of the Civic Guard and the volunteers, numbering ten thousand. They were all, says a contemporary chronicler, burning with patriotism and zeal, but many were destitute of military instruction, and some of clothing. But, as Pius persisted in maintaining that he was not at war with anybody, he commanded that no other orders should be given to the troops, save to defend the integrity and security of the pontifical territory. And Antonelli wrote, on the 27th of March, to Cardinal Durat, the Legate of Bologna, that the King of Sardinia wished the

pontifical troops to remain at the frontier. On the very next day, however, Prince Aldobrandini wrote to Durando ordering him to place himself immediately in correspondence with the head-quarters of the King, and to operate in accord with him! On the 5th of April, Durando published an address to his troops. He told them, at greater length than can here be given, that "the Pope, holy, just, and merciful above all other men, yet knew that the *ultima ratio* of arms was the only just, the only possible course to take against those who trample under foot every right and every law, human and divine. . . . The Supreme Pontiff has blessed your swords, which, united to those of Carlo Alberto, must march in concord with him to the extermination of the enemies of God and of Italy!"

But on the 10th of the same month, as soon as ever the report of these words had reached him, Pius announced in the *Gazette* of Rome, that "An order of the day, issued to the soldiers at Bologna on the 5th of April, expresses sentiments and ideas as if they were dictated by the mouth of the Holy Father. The Pope, when he wishes to make declarations of his sentiments, speaks from himself, *ex se*, and never by the mouth of any subaltern."

Certainly it was becoming increasingly difficult, especially for a poor volunteer on the Bologna frontier, to know what was fidelity to his Holy Father!

Durando meanwhile was continually receiving fresh recruits; and it was becoming more difficult from day to day to restrain them from crossing the Po, even without orders. In these circumstances, on the 14th of April the General wrote to Rome asking for orders. Aldobrandini communicated Durando's letter to Antonelli on the 18th of that month; and the latter, after conference with the Pontiff, ordered him to reply, that "he must, in the grave circumstances in which he found himself, regulate himself in such sort as should be most conducive to the tranquillity and security of the State!" General Durando's position was, it must be admitted, a difficult one! He did, however, pass the Po on the 20th of April; and Ferrari, under his orders, did so in the first days of May.

The Ministry—laymen, it will be remembered, with the exception of the first Minister, Antonelli—were anxious that the Pope should openly declare his wishes as regarded the war, and presented a supplication that he would say whether he consented that his subjects should join in the war, or whether

he absolutely forbade their doing so; or whether finally he chose to declare, that though he wished for peace, it was out of his power to prevent war? On the 20th of April the Pope replied, that "not having any motive for going to war with the Emperor of Austria, he considered that he was fulfilling the duty of Supreme Pontiff and Sovereign by opposing the unjust desires of those who wished to drive him to embark in it, and who demanded that he should send to battle—that is, to certain slaughter—a quantity of inexperienced youths, got together in a hurry, uninstructed in the art and discipline of war, and not supplied with able commanders and material of war." (Surely a severe and undeserved slap to General Durando!)

And on the 29th of the same month the Pope more solemnly, in a Consistory of the Cardinals, spoke a very long address, in the course of which he said, that "Since it is now the wish of some that we, together with the other peoples and princes of Italy, should go to war with Austria, we judge it to be proper to express, clearly and openly, in this our solemn assembly, that such a line of conduct is entirely opposed to our counsels, seeing that we" . . . are, in a word, the common Father of all. "But

here," the Pontiff proceeds to say, "we cannot refrain from repudiating, in the face of all men, the fraudulent counsels set forth also in journals and various writings, of those who wish that the Roman Pontiff should be the head, and should preside over the constitution of a sort of new Republic of all the peoples of Italy. On the contrary, on this occasion, we, moved by the love we bear them, in the strongest manner admonish and advise the populations of Italy to guard themselves most diligently from all such astute designs, pernicious as they are to Italy, and to remain firmly attached to their Princes, whose benevolence they have already experienced, and never to suffer themselves to be seduced from their allegiance to them."

The effect produced in Rome by these declarations was tremendous. At last the division of the ways had been arrived at too palpably for any longer illusion to be possible either to the Pontiff or his subjects. It had become evident to both parties that no longer accord was possible between them. The Ministry, which had four days previously expressed its opinion that in the circumstances of the country the war was necessary, resigned *en masse*. And it was at once perceived, with a thrill of alarm which

ran like lightning through all classes of the city, that the result of the Pope's declaration would be that the papal troops, regulars and volunteers alike, would be treated by the Austrians as mere bandits; that all the rights and courtesies of civilised warfare would be refused to them, and that they would be shot down without mercy and without quarter! And bitter comparisons were made between the Pope's expressed unwillingness to send his subjects, as he had said, to the certain slaughter of the battle-field, and the act which consigned them to so much worse a fate. Of all that portion of the life and actions of Pius the Ninth which concerns the temporal part of his administration, and has reference to his character as a sovereign, this has always been felt to be the worst page, and to have left on his reputation the deepest stain. The fears of the Roman mothers, wives, and fathers were no vain terrors. Exactly that happened which they had foreseen. The papal troops were declared by the Austrian General mere brigands and outlaws, and were treated accordingly. And many a family hoarded a store of bitter hatred against the ruler whose weak vacillation and vanity had betrayed his subjects into such a position!

The result of the memorable speech in Consistory

of the 29th April was to make it unmistakable that a catastrophe was approaching. The "Circolo Romano" was the main centre of the popular movement and head-quarters of the malcontents—which term, indeed, now included all save the members of the priesthood. Prince Doria, Mamiani (now a senator of the Italian kingdom), and the advocate Sterbini went to the Quirinal, saw Antonelli, and spoke, the two former, we are told, with moderation, the last insolently and violently. Meantime men of the Civic Guard, without orders and obeying only the popular will, occupied the gates of the city, to prevent the possibility of the Pope and Cardinals leaving it. Others surrounded the houses of the Cardinals. In the evening a petition was prepared at the "Circolo," which declared that "from respect for the timorous conscience of the Holy Father, no further petitions should be made to him to ask him for a direct declaration of war from his own mouth; but that, "in contracambio"—in exchange for this—it was desired that the Pontiff should appoint an entirely lay and approvedly Liberal Ministry, which should have the power of pushing on the war with ardour and activity and by every sort of means."

The Pope, aware of the intention to present this petition, and wishing to avoid receiving it, sent for Mamiani to the Quirinal, and asked him to take part in the Ministry. But he declined, advising rather that the present Ministers should retain their portfolios, and be instructed to follow the direction pointed out in the petition. Meantime, Sterbini and others of the more violent came to the Quirinal and spoke violently and threateningly. They were persuaded to depart with an assurance that the Holy Father, while attending to the formation of a new Ministry, had induced the actual Ministers to remain in office, who would—"con animo italiano"—with patriotic intentions (the use of the word *italiano* curiously indicates all that it was then held to signify, and explains the hatred which Austria and the Retrogradists felt to it), do what they in their consciences believed to be best under the circumstances.

These tidings were immediately carried back to the "Circolo," and were thence circulated in a few minutes through the city. They failed, as might have been expected, to satisfy the people. The "Circolo" itself, which, though it included among its members many of the more violent and exalted democrats and many who acted under the inspira-

tion, if not under the directions, of the "Giovine Italia," comprised also such men as Doria, Mamiani, and others of the friends of order, though they were partisans of the war and of the entire secularisation of the Government, began to be itself alarmed at the rising violence of the people, and to fear insurrectionary outbreaks which threatened to produce a state of things beyond their power to master. A strong cry arose throughout the city demanding that Mamiani should be Minister. That same night the crowd stopped the mail that was leaving for the north, and forcibly took from the bags the letters of Antonelli, to see what orders he was sending to the generals in the field. A still more dangerous and excited crowd raised threatening cries against the Cardinals, especially against Lambruschini, Mattei, Patrizi, Della Genga, Bernetti and Gizzi—the whilom popularity of the last having altogether vanished! The Pope made hurried dispositions for receiving all these members of the Sacred College in the Quirinal. And all accepted the offer save Bernetti, who considered himself sufficiently secure in his own dwelling.

That night of the 30th of April must have been a strange and memorable one in the Quirinal! It

was the first moment when it became clear to the alarmed old men who gathered about their chief that this business of reform and popularity-hunting was likely to issue in present and imminent personal danger to all of them! It is not difficult to guess what thoughts must have been in the minds of such men as Lambruschini and those who thought with him during the agitated hours of that evening. They must have been bitter enough, and hardly conformable to the sentiments which the "Venerabili Fratelli" should feel for their divinely-guided Head! They are all gone who could have told us how that evening passed! All gone—the last of them but the other day—each with his finger on his lips, and have kept the secrets of that prison-house! All, save that wonderful old man, whom no amount of emotion has been able to kill or wear out, of whom it is authentically told that he in the midst of his sacred brethren of the purple, was calm, placid, and unruffled!

CHAPTER VIII.

PAPAL ADDRESS OF THE 1ST OF MAY.—WELDEN'S PROCLAMATION TO THE POPULATION AT THE FRONTIERS.—TURBULENT MEETING OUTSIDE THE PORTA DEL POPOLO.—SEDITIOUS CRIES IN THE STREETS.—MAMIANI'S NEW MINISTRY.—CORSINI'S ADDRESS TO THE POPE ON THE 3RD OF MAY.—THE POPE DISAVOWS THE DECLARATION OF THE MINISTERS.—POPE WRITES LETTER TO THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.—SENDS A PRELATE TO MEDIATE BETWEEN KING OF SARDINIA AND EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.—OPENING OF THE SESSION ON THE 5TH OF JUNE.—SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—DIVISION OF DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS NOT ALLOWED BY THE POPE.—REPLY TO THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—POPE'S RECEPTION OF IT.—RETURN OF TROOPS TO ROME.—POPE'S DISPLEASURE AT THEIR BEING QUARTERED IN THE JESUIT CONVENT.—POPE ATTEMPTS TO RECALL SWISS TROOPS TO ROME.—TO OBTAIN TROOPS FROM NAPLES.—UNSUCCESSFUL.—POSITION OF PIUS THE NINTH AT THIS TIME.—MUCH TO BE PITIED.—NATURE OF HIS DIFFICULTIES.—MAMIANI OFFERS RESIGNATION, BUT REMAINS IN OFFICE.—VICTORY OF THE AUSTRIANS AT CUSTOZA.—TUMULT IN THE STREETS.—POPE'S SUBSEQUENT REMARKS ON THIS CRISIS.—PROTEST AGAINST VIOLATION OF TERRITORY BY AUSTRIA.—PELLEGRINO ROSSI MINISTER.

THE next day, the 1st of May, while the entire fabric of society was reeling in the Eternal City,

while many were fearing for their personal safety, and all were anxious and uncertain what the next hour might bring forth, Pius, "with the fraternal intention of recalling the disturbers of the public peace to calm and tranquillity, composed a long address in the pulpit style, in which he, with abundant verbosity, goes over the story of all he had done for his subjects, and of the tokens of their appreciation of it which they had given him. He bids them remember that he had consistently stated that he was unwilling to declare war; "but at the same time," he says, "we protested that we were unable to bridle the ardour of that portion of our subjects which was animated with the same spirit of nationality as the other Italians." He also declares that he had done his duty as a father and a sovereign by taking the best means in his power to procure the greatest possible degree of safety for those of his subjects who, against his will, were exposed to the vicissitudes of war. This, of course, was intended for a reply to the complaint that his refusal to declare war exposed those whom, if not he, at least his Minister of war had sent to the frontier to be treated as bandits not entitled to the mitigations of the evils of war accorded to the troops of a belligerent

power. It would have been better if the historian were able to point out what were the means which the Holy Father took towards attaining the end in view. Unfortunately the proclamations of the Austrian General Welden, on the 3rd and 4th of August in this same year, prove but too conclusively that the Holy Father's attempts in the direction indicated were at least wholly abortive. "The Holy Father, your sovereign, inspired by the sacred nature of his office," said the Austrian General, "protested again and again that he would not make war. . . . My forces are directed against the bands that call themselves 'Crociati' (Durando's soldiers)—against those factions, persons who, contrary to the authority of their own Government, strive to deceive worthy people with lies and sophisms. . . . I will infallibly cause to be shot all who shall be taken with arms in their hands, or shall in any other way show hostility to us."

The Pope's address failed altogether to produce the effect he hoped from it. Meetings, each more violent than the last, marked each day, and almost each hour of every day. One, which became especially famous, was held in the first days of May in a vineyard outside the Porta del Popolo. Mamiani,

Sterbini, and many others whose names were well known in the political struggles of that day, as well as Ciceruacchio, and, led by the latter, a vast crowd of the most violent and lawless men in the city, were present. One Guerrini declaimed violently against Pius the Ninth, maintaining that he was a traitor to his country and must be deposed. To that end he exhorted the multitude to swear that they would obey implicitly the orders of Ciceruacchio. Upon which the latter drew a dagger, and the crowd doing the same, for all were armed, swore the required oath.

In the streets the cries were, "Down with the Cardinal Ministers!" "We want a Ministry all laymen!" "Hurrah far Mamiani as Minister!" Two days later, on the 4th of May, it was announced that the Holy Father, on the proposition of the Conte Terenzio Mamiani, had named a new Ministry: Cardinal Ciacchi, President of the Council (the Pontiff could not make up his mind, great as was the pressing danger, to trust himself wholly to laymen); the Conte Giovanni Marchetti, Minister for (*secular*) Foreign Affairs; Mamiani, Minister for Home Affairs; Pasquale de' Rossi (not to be confounded with Pellegrino Rossi, shortly to become Minister),

Minister of Justice; Giuseppe Lunati, Minister of Finance; Prince Filippo Doria Pamfili, War Minister; the Duca di Rignano, Minister of Commerce; and the Avvocato Galletti, Minister of Police. Cardinal Ciacchi prudently declined to accept office, and Cardinal Soglia patriotically consented to fill the position in his stead.

For a time—a short time—this Ministry succeeded in restoring tranquillity. The Civic Guards, who had stationed themselves at the gates of the city, at Castel St. Angelo, and around the residence of the Cardinals, were withdrawn; and the Commander of the Civic Guards, changed from Prince Rospigliosi to Prince Aldobrandini, made a public declaration, that the notion which had become current that the Holy Father had withdrawn his confidence from the Civic Guard was unfounded.

On the 3rd of May, the Senator Prince Corsini was persuaded to call an extraordinary meeting of the Senate and the Deputies for the adopting of an address to the Holy Father. A long one was drawn up by the Avvocato Sturbenetti, the gist of which went to show the necessity and lawfulness, even from the Pope's point of view, of the war (inasmuch as it had now become a war for the defence of the

integrity of the frontiers of the State); and to urge the convocation of an Italian Diet. The Pope received it, and avoided giving any answer by saying that the new Ministry were on the point of entering on their functions. The Ministry began by issuing an address, in which it was attempted to pacify the people by a quantity of empty phrases about Rome being in the van of civilisation, but also contained a word or two to the effect that they—the Ministers, had especially at heart *the triumph of the holy Italian cause.* The Pope on the very next day caused the official *Gazette* to declare, that the title of "programme" affixed by the error of a clerk in the Home Office to a mere manifestation of the ideas of the Minister on certain points, was not to be received as such, and that the Minister could not have intended any such solemn significance to be attached to so short and little detailed a document.

On that same 3rd day of May, the Pope wrote an autograph letter to the Emperor of Austria, begging him, in a word, to withdraw his troops, and suggesting that each nation "should betake itself to dwell within its own natural limits, with an honourable understanding and with the benediction of the Most High!" A few days later, the text of this letter

became known in Rome; whereupon the Ministers published an address to the Pontiff, the gist of which was to the effect that the Italians would be perfectly content to share the kindly feelings which he had expressed towards the German nation, on condition that as a first condition of peace, "the Italian nation should be restored to its *natural confines*." . . . "Let the Germans repass the Alps, and we shall then not forget that Christian charity which your Holiness inculcates on us."

Still continuing his Apostolic endeavours, Pius sent on the 27th of May Monsignore Morichini, with the title of Apostolic Delegate Extraordinary to the King of Sardinia and to the Emperor of Austria. He was received by the former with at least all honour and respect. But at Innspruck, where the Austrian Emperor then was, he was somewhat roughly told to go to . . . Vienna, if he wanted to speak to the Ministers.

The 5th of June was fixed for the opening of the session of the new Parliament. Mamiani drew up a short "speech from the throne," which said as little as such speeches usually do. But he said, "God has constituted nations in this world by difference of climate, of language, of race, and of customs, in order that

each may live its own proper and honoured life. And God has given to Italy all these ineffaceable marks and signs." These phrases appeared objectionable to the Pope. That they should have done so is a suggestive symptom of the condition of men's minds at that time, and of the survival of the notion that danger lurked in the bare idea of Italian nationality. Mamiani consented to modify the speech, but failed to render it acceptable to the Pontiff. The Pope then drew up a speech himself, which the Ministers, alleging their constitutional responsibility, refused to countersign. It was then proposed that the Pontiff should open the session in person with a few insignificant words. But neither to this would the Holy Father consent. And the speech, as drawn up by the Pope, was read by Cardinal Altieri without any ministerial approbation. There was no word in it that could by any possibility have been found objectionable by the Ministers; and it must be supposed that the fault they found with it was, that it contained no word having reference to the war, or the national aspirations of Italy.

A communication from the Ministers to the Deputies, drawn up by Mamiani, and read on the 9th of June, spoke a very different language. It pro-

mised that all the efforts of the Ministry should be devoted to the promotion of the national cause, and the recovery of every palm of Italian land from the foreigner.

For the carrying out of the government according to his plans, Mamiani had considered the division of the department of Foreign Affairs into two branches —the one for the transaction of ecclesiastical affairs, and the other for secular affairs—as indispensable. But the Pope absolutely refused to admit or tolerate any such division. The consequence of this was that Mamiani and the other Ministers on the 18th of June gave in their resignation. The Pontiff, however, requested them to continue to hold office temporarily, and this they consented to do.

An address was presented in reply to the speech from the throne, read by Cardinal Altieri; and on receiving this, on the 10th of July, Pius said that he did so "solely in such part and so far as it did not diverge from the prescription of the Statute. If," he went on to say, "high desires for the greatness of the Italian nation become more numerous, it is necessary that the entire world should be anew informed that the means of obtaining that end cannot, as far as we are concerned, be war." On the 12th,

Mamiani said, in consequence of these words, that he had given his resignation into the hands of his Holiness, who had, however, not as yet accepted or rejected it. The same evening tumultuous crowds thronged round the house of the Minister in the Piazza di Spagna, encouraging him to persevere. He did so, proposing a variety of new laws, among which were schemes for increasing the army on a large scale, which were, as was only too well known, in entire opposition to the wishes of the Sovereign.

On the 25th of July one of the Roman regiments which had been sent to the frontier returned from Vicenza, where it had capitulated to Radetzky, was received with festive honours by the Senate and the people, and, for want of other quarters, was placed in the building from which the Jesuits had been sent away. This very seriously displeased the Pontiff, who declared publicly in the *Gazette* that this was done on the sole authority of the Minister, thus widening the division, already so dangerously great, between him and those who were supposed to be governing in his name.

That the Pope's own sense of the danger of the situation was becoming more urgent was shown about this time by the desire he expressed that a couple of

regiments of Swiss, which had been sent into the Legations, should be brought back to Rome for the reinforcement of its garrison. But the Ministers opposed the plan, and the Pontiff found himself unable to obtain his desire. He then sent Cardinal Ferretti to Naples to ask for the assistance of a body of Neapolitan troops; but the precarious state of things there made it impossible for the Neapolitan Government to help him.

It is impossible not to feel a considerable degree of pity for Pius the Ninth at this period of his strangely eventful life. It is unquestionable that he did come to his high office with large, lofty, and noble aspirations; with aspirations and purposes far larger and nobler than those which any Pontiff of his predecessors had brought with him to St. Peter's throne for many and many a generation. That an inordinate vanity had a large share in the promptings of the heart which pushed him to such aspirations is true; but it may be urged that a craving for the applause of one's fellow-creatures, if often allied with exceeding weakness, is rarely if ever conjoined with baseness, but frequently is found in companionship with virtues of the heroic class. Nor can it be attributed to any shortcoming of his, save in some degree to intellectual

shortcoming, that the bright morning of his day was clouded over so quickly; that the paradise which he and his subjects fancied they were entering together when he commenced his rule over them turned out to be a fool's paradise so soon. The amount, the bitterness of his disappointment must have been immense. Had he been a man of deep feeling and much sensitiveness, it must have killed him; but there is reason to think that he is very remarkably the reverse of this—that reverses, disappointments, cares that would grave deep and lasting furrows in most hearts, pass lightly over his buoyant idiosyncrasy. Nevertheless, those months of 1848 must have gone hardly with him. He stuck bravely to his hope after everybody else could see that there was no hope. He did strive his best to satisfy his people and secure their welfare. That he could not go with them, as they would have had him, was no fault of his; duty—a duty which he honestly and genuinely believed to be far higher, and laid on him with a specialty of obligation, with the sacredness of which none other could compare—stood in the way! He *could* not act as his people would have had him. And it must be remembered that he was most unquestionably not wrong in his estimate of the direc-

tion in which the path he was wished to follow would lead him. It may or may not be a good and desirable thing that the entire fabric of the Roman Church should be brought to the ground and carted away as rubbish; but the sacerdotal instinct in Pius warned him aright that this and no other was the catastrophe towards which they were driving him. He could not yield to the goads that were urging him thitherwards, and in truth there was something piteous in the sight of his attempts to bolt, now at this door of escape, and now at that—any path, any concession save the fatal path, which led only to the precipice. It does seem unquestionably true that up to the period at which we have arrived Pius the Ninth was desirous not only of giving his subjects the benefit of very substantial improvements in every branch of the administration, but also a degree of political liberty which no one of his predecessors had granted or would have dreamed of granting. He was further willing and desirous to arrive at such an amount of separation between temporal and ecclesiastical affairs, and such a degree of admission of the lay element to its share of governmental action, as could be accomplished without danger to what he considered the interests and requirements of his spiritual office. He

is no doubt at the present hour perfectly convinced that he was then pursuing an erroneous path, and attempting what was impossible; and few will doubt now that the Pontiff is right in his present judgment, and was wrong in his previous estimate of the possibilities of his position. The "*Sint ut sunt aut non sint*" is recognised to be inevitable, and the dissidence between the Roman Pontiff and the world will henceforward consist, not in any dispute on the accurate truthfulness of that position, but, admitting the cogency of the alternative, in the choice of the issue to be preferred.

But though the inherent inevitability of this upshot would have in due course ensured the failure of all the Pontiff's earnest and sincere tentatives at improvement, Liberalism, and roseate Giobertinian dreams of Neo-Catholicism, the catastrophe of the Pope's liberalising career, was brought about by a more immediate and quickly operative cause—his determination not to embark in the war for the liberation of Italy. On this point he was thoroughly determined to take one line, and his subjects, one may say well-nigh the entirety of them, were as thoroughly determined to take the opposite one. And the objects which the Romans had in view

were generous, noble, and, taking a sufficiently wide outlook, far-seeing ones. But considering the immediate duties of a sovereign, considering the then position of Austria, considering the prospect, as it then lay before the Italians, of the papal dominions by the light of the event, can it be said that the Pontiff, as a temporal sovereign, was so far wrong?

It is true that the probability of miserable failure as the issue of those 1848 attempts, was probably not the sole cause of the unwillingness of the Pontiff to embark in them. It is true that the picture of a united and confederated Italy might present itself to the fancy under two very different aspects. The Giobertinian galanty show-picture of Italy, mother of arts and culture, the humanitarian primate of the world, with Rome, the Eternal City, primate of Italy, and the Pope the primate of Rome, was one thing; but a picture of Italy composed of a confederation of States possessing a greater or lesser degree of autonomy, as it might turn out, under the leadership of the Sardinian King, with a Pope turned certainly into a vassal sovereign, and probably into a vassal bishop, was quite another thing. And it is also true that, as the struggle between the Pontiff and his people proceeded during the spring and

summer months of 1848, the latter view was continually becoming more concrete and distinct, and the former more shadowy and impalpable. And it can hardly be doubted that considerations of this sort, acting more or less consciously, as human hopes and fears will, contributed to render Pius the Ninth's first "non possumus" irrevocable.

The storm grew more and more violent and menacing around the Pontiff, but nothing could move him to throw in his lot with those who were striving to free Italy from the foreigner and make her a nation.

The determination of Mamiani and his colleagues to resign their functions has been mentioned. Their resignation had not been accepted; but the Pope seems to have already conceived the idea of confiding the Ministry to Pellegrino Rossi. Rossi, when his embassy from France to the Pontiff came to an end, had remained as a private resident in Rome, and had on the 23rd of July become a naturalised papal subject. The change in question, however, did not then take place. Prince Doria Pamfili resigned the War Office, the Conte Pompeo Campello was appointed in his place; and on the 29th of July Mamiani told the Chambers that the Ministerial crisis was at an end, and that the Ministry, "renovated in part, would

continue to carry into effect that national and truly Italian policy which some among you had the kindness to say was incarnated in the present Cabinet." In short, they were determined to carry on the Government in a sense diametrically opposed to that of the Sovereign, in whose name they were supposed to be exercising power!

On the 31st of July came the tidings of the victory of Austria at Custoza. The Ministry immediately proposed large schemes of armament, and modes for the raising of money. On the 1st of August these plans were submitted to the Pope, who replied that such large proposals needed mature consideration; that he wholly trusted to the Council and *the good sense of the people* for the consideration of what was best to be done. It is well-nigh impossible to suppose that the words italicised could have been spoken by the Pontiff in sincerity. The result of them, however, was to fill the streets with tumultuous crowds, crying, "Death to the Cardinals!" "Death to the Priests!" "Hurrah for a Constitutional Government!" These were the worst cries that had yet been heard in Rome! The popular weather-glass marked "storm" from day to day more menacingly.

For the nonce, however, the Civic Guard did their duty, and dispersed the rioters. On the 2nd of August, Mamiani, having learned from the Pope his final refusal to adopt the schemes of armament proposed, insisted on carrying into effect his threatened resignation. This time it was accepted. And it is worth while to anticipate a little, for the purpose of giving in this place some words spoken by Pius on the 20th of April, 1849, which disclose his veritable feelings towards the Minister whom he was professing to trust at the period at which we have arrived. Addressing the Cardinals assembled in Consistory on that day, he said: "You remember the outcry and tumult excited by factious and turbulent men, after that allocution (of the 29th of April), and how a lay Ministry, altogether in contradiction with our maxims and intentions, and with the rights of the Apostolic See, was imposed upon us. We most assuredly, as far back as that time, foresaw the unsuccessful exit of the Italian war, whereas one of those Ministers did not hesitate to assert that the war would continue, even against our will and without the pontifical benediction. And the same Minister, further outraging in the highest degree the Apostolic See, was not ashamed to propose that

the Civil Principality of the Roman Pontiff should be altogether separated from the Spiritual Power thereof."

A new Ministry, still under the Presidency of Cardinal Soglia, was patched up, on the resignation of Mamiani; but, as might have been easily foreseen, it lasted but a very short time, and the names of the men who composed it are not of sufficient interest to justify the employment of the space it would need to record them.

Cardinal Soglia protested strongly, in the Pope's name, against the violation of the pontifical territory by the Austrian troops, calling on all Europe to defend the Holy See against invasion. And on the 8th of August, when the proclamation of General Welden, from which some passages have been given in a former chapter, reached Rome, Cardinal Soglia published a declaration that "His Holiness is firmly resolved to defend his State against the Austrian invasion by all the means that his dominions and the well-regulated enthusiasm of his subjects can supply. His Holiness gives the lie (*smentisce*), in the strongest manner, by my mouth, to the words of Marshal Welden, declaring that his conduct is considered by his Holiness as hostile to the Holy See and to the

Holy Father, who neither can intend, nor intends, to separate the cause of his people from his own cause, and holds every injury inflicted on his people as offered to himself." A deputation was also sent to Welden, who received them with excuses based on military necessity, proposed that all prisoners should be given up on both sides, and that the Papal Government should undertake to prevent its subjects from violating Austrian territory.

On the 26th of August the Ministers made a statement to the Pontiff to the effect that a great number of new laws were needed for further reforms, that it had not been possible for them to have the projects of these laws ready for presentation to the Chamber, and that it was therefore necessary to prolong the session to the 15th of the following November. But the Pope was not contented with his Ministers, as has been seen but too clearly from his subsequent confessions in the spring of the following year; and he finally determined to confide to Pellegrino Rossi, as he had previously thought of doing, the formation of a new Ministry, which was announced to the public on the 16th of September: Cardinal Soglia, Secretary of State, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council; the

Conte Pellegrino Rossi, Minister for the Home Department and Finance; Cardinal Vizzardelli, Public Instruction; and other less known names for the other offices.

The task which the Ministry thus constituted had before them, was in truth, from the first, a hopeless one.

CHAPTER IX.

PELLEGRINO ROSSI.—HIS OPINIONS.—HIS OBJECTIONS TO UNDERTAKING TO FORM A MINISTRY.—CAUSES OF HIS UNPOPULARITY.—THREATS AGAINST HIS LIFE.—HIS MINISTERIAL PROGRAMME.—DISLIKED BY THE LIBERAL PARTY.—CLUBS.—NEWSPAPERS.—STERBINI.—ROSSI'S REPLY TO THE CALUMNIES OF THE "CONTEMPORANEO."—PLOTS AGAINST THE LIFE OF ROSSI.—THE "LEGIONARIES."—WARNINGS GIVEN TO ROSSI.—APPEARANCE OF THE CITY ON THE MORNING OF THE 15TH OF NOVEMBER, 1848.—UNTRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE TROOPS.—PREPARATIONS AT THE CHAMBER FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF THE MINISTER.—ROSSI AT THE QUIRINAL.—LAST WARNING FROM THE POLICE.—THE MURDER IN THE HALL OF THE PARLIAMENT CHAMBER.—DISGRACEFUL APATHY OF ROME.—FRATERNISATION BETWEEN THE ASSASSINS AND THE TROOPS.—RESIGNATION OF THE OTHER MINISTERS.—MINGHETTI AND PASOLINI REQUESTED TO FORM A MINISTRY.

PELLEGRINO ROSSI was a native of Carrara, who had been sent by Guizot's Government to represent France at the Court of Rome. The Republic born on the overthrow of Louis Philippe had recalled him, and he had subsequently remained as a private

resident at Rome, having been naturalised as a subject of the Pope, as has been mentioned. While so living in privacy at Rome, his advice had been largely sought by the Ministries which had succeeded one another, and by public men of all politics, except, perhaps, the extreme revolutionists. His fellow-citizens of Carrara had elected him as a Deputy in the Tuscan Parliament. Gioberti had been anxious that he should receive citizenship and a seat in the Subalpine Chamber; but the Roman non-republican Liberals had prevailed in persuading him to make Rome his home and his country. He was very strongly of opinion that any attempt to introduce Republican institutions into Italy would have resulted, not in the establishment of one great republic, nor of two or three, but of a hundred little republics; that, in a word, such a policy would have thrown Italy back on her old mediæval communes, and on the evils to which they had been a prey. Monarchy, he thought, could alone weld Italy into a nation, and eventually liberate her from the yoke of the foreigner.

Rossi, as Farini, who knew well the man and all the circumstances, and who is perfectly trustworthy,

relates in his "Stato Romano,"* accepted the commission to form a Ministry very unwillingly. To those who urged him to make the attempt, he represented that his long absence from Italy prevented him from having as perfect a knowledge of the men to be dealt with as was necessary; that he was much disliked by the popular party; that the fact of his having married a Protestant wife might prejudice him in some quarters; that it might be disagreeable to France to see her late ambassador high in office at Rome. Of all these difficulties, by very much the most serious was the fact that he was sure of the hostility of the "sectarians," as the non-republican writers of that day love to call them—of the extreme Liberal party, that is to say, of the disciples of the "Giovine Italia," and the Republicans. The mere rumour of the probability of his being called to office (and it will be recollected that Pius the Ninth had thought of doing so before the step was definitely resolved on) caused a storm of threatening abuse to be raised by the whole of the parties above described. In the words of Farini, "the mediocrities feared a man of high abilities; those who found their account in the absence of all discipline dreaded one known to

* Vol. ii. ch. 13.

be a severe enforcer of it; the recklessly violent hated the man whose hand was capable of holding them in check. From murmurings all these classes passed to calumniating, from calumny to menaces, in nowise secretly uttered, but in the "Circoli" and in the streets. "One day Sterbini"—the reader has met with his name already as prominent among the mischievous and noisy roysterers of the political gatherings—"in the presence of many deputies, broke out into a violent diatribe, declaring that if the Minister of Louis Philippe and the friend of Guizot should dare to appear as the Pope's Minister in Parliament he should be stoned!" It will be seen that such words were no empty menaces!

The first cares of Rossi were for the finance and the army—to attempt the preliminary steps towards the restoration of the first, and to strengthen and consolidate the second. The negotiations for an Italian League between the sovereigns, more especially with Sardinia, were also carried on with better prospect of success than heretofore. Rosmini, who was highly esteemed by Pius and by a great number of the most eminent prelates around him, was sent by the Court of Sardinia to conduct the negotiations. On the 4th of November the Govern-

ment put forth a declaration of its purposes conceived as follows:

"An Italian Congress in Rome is urgently necessary. The plan of the Pontifical Government is plain and most simple. It may be resumed in a few words. There is (meaning that it is proposed that there shall be) a political league between the constitutional and independent Italian monarchies, which agree to the proposed terms. The plenipotentiaries of each state shall forthwith assemble in Rome, in a preliminary congress, to deliberate on the common interests and establish the organic terms of the league. Pius the Ninth does not move from his lofty conception, desirous, as he has always been, to provide efficaciously by means of the Italian political league for the security, dignity, and prosperity of Italy and the constitutional monarchies of the Peninsula. Pius the Ninth is not led by particular interests or by ambitious views. He seeks nothing, he desires nothing, but the happiness of Italy, and the regular development of those institutions which he has given to his people. But at the same time he will never lose sight of what he owes to the dignity of the Holy See and to the glory of Rome. Any proposal whatsoever that is incompatible with

this sacred duty will be vainly offered to the Sovereign of Rome and the Head of the Church. The Pontificate is the only living greatness which remains to Italy, and which makes Europe and the whole Catholic world obsequious to her. This Pius the Ninth will never forget either as the Supreme Pontiff or as an Italian."

This declaration found little favour with the Romans. It could hardly have been expected to be otherwise. It has, it must be confessed, too great an appearance of a desire to quiet the people by an appearance of doing something notable, which should lead to something more notable yet; whereas it was in truth all empty talk, which could lead to nothing! And the portions of the declaration which really were significant—those passages in which the intention of upholding the constitutional *monarchies* of Italy, and the determination of the Pontiff to take no step tending to the diminution of his own sacerdotal or princely authority are spoken of—were of course received as a direct throwing down of the glove by all the republicans and revolutionists. What could the Ministers have said or done that would have been better? Nothing! The case was hopeless, the situation impossible!

The meetings of the factious malcontents were more frequent than ever. There were several circles, or clubs, the names of the leaders of which, and many of the principal frequenters of them, have been gibbeted on the records of the trial for the murder which their activity and their desires produced. But they are for the most part too obscure to make it of any interest to an English reader to reproduce them here. That Sterbini, whom we have already seen threatening murder, was the chief of one of these. A portion of the indelible disgrace which the event now to be related inflicted on the Liberal cause and the supporters of it in Rome, has fallen on, and cannot be removed from, the press which supported the same party. The writers in the *Contemporaneo* and the *Epoca* perseveringly help up Rossi to the hatred of the people as a haughty despiser of Roman men and things—a deceiver of the Sovereign, an enemy to the cause of the national independence. It is hardly possible that the ignorance and stupidity of the writers of these calumnies could have been so profound as to permit them to make such accusations in good faith! Sterbini, who had been to Turin to represent at a meeting of the "National Association" in that city the

"Circolo Popolare Romano," passed by Florence on his return, where at divers meetings the necessity of removing Rossi was spoken of. It is within the knowledge of the present writer, that, passing also by Perugia in the course of the same journey, he spoke there in a manner to let his hearers understand that "the removal" of Rossi was decided on. To the calumnies of the *Contemporaneo* and the *Epoca*, Rossi replied in the *Gazette* on the 14th of November, insisting on the existence of two parties equally bent on destroying the constitutional Government—the party of those who wished to go back to the past, and the party which, "openly stirring up the passions and inexperience of a portion of the people, seeks to hurry the entire fabric of society into dissolution and anarchy. Both, differing as they do in their aims, use a common means, disorder. But be it known to both these parties that the constitutional Government of the Pontiff is watching them, and is resolved to do its duty." At the same time he brought into the city a reinforcement of Carabineers from the small towns of the Campagna, causing them to march through the streets in such sort as to be seen by the citizens.

It was subsequently proved by evidence given on

the trial to which the murder gave rise, that the deed was discussed at a meeting held towards the beginning of November, at which Ciceruacchio and several others, whose names, well known at Rome in those days, would be of no interest to the English reader, were present; and again at another meeting held on the 13th of November, at which Sterbini, Luigi Brunetti, the son of Ciceruacchio, and others were present. It was there stated that everything was prepared for the murder of Rossi on the 15th of November, and that if any attack should be made on the executors of the murder by the *Carabinieri* the associates should assemble in arms in the Piazza del Popolo, in the Piazza di Spagna, at the Bridge of St. Angelo, and the Piazza di Sant' Ignazio—central spots in different parts of the city. Pistols were then distributed to those present, together with five pauls (about two shillings) apiece. It was further given in evidence that one Grandoni, on the evening of the 14th, assembled in the Capranica Theatre a number of the men of the regiment* which had

* This regiment, having been purged by its Colonel, Galletti, and its Lieutenant-Colonel, Morelli, by weeding out the men of bad character, had left Rome on the previous 4th of September. The men thus eliminated formed themselves into a body, about a hundred and forty strong, and formed the trustiest body of patriots ready to commit murder at two shillings a head.

returned from Vicenza, and these, together with Ciceruacchio and Sterbini and others, drew lots for the names of those who were to do the murder. Six names were drawn, among whom was Luigi Brunetti, the son of Ciceruacchio.

Rossi received several warnings. Many of these had been abusive and threatening, and he had tossed them aside with contempt. One reached him on the morning of the 15th, warning him rather in the tone of a friend than of an enemy that his death was determined on. A lady wrote to him on that same morning, urging on him her strong presentiments of evil at hand. An old Polish general went to him and told him he had reason to fear that the threats against him would that day be found to be no mere menaces. And a priest, calling on him on a similar errand, warned him that his enemies were determined to murder him that day. To all these Rossi replied that he had taken all possible precautions, that he must go that day to the opening of the Parliament, for it lay in the path of his duty to do so, and that if by staying away he avoided a murderous knife on that occasion, it would be easy for the intending assassins to find another opportunity.

On the morning of that 15th of November, the day on which the Parliament was to be opened, the city showed no signs of agitation or perturbation. There were knots of men in the streets, talking of the Minister, of the Parliament, of the opposition. And although here and there, as Farini says, scared faces might have been observed, there was nothing to indicate that popular outbreak or tumult was near at hand. The same historian remarks that no precautions could have been taken more efficacious than those which were adopted. But this hardly seems, I think, to have been the case. The short distance from the spot where Rossi had to leave his carriage to the entrance of the Chamber should have been lined by a double hedge of troops. It is true, however, that, as Rossi said, safety on that occasion would only have caused his murderers to defer their purpose to another. And moreover there were great reasons to think that, with the exception of about forty dragoons, who served as the body-guard of the Pope and were supposed to be wholly trustworthy, not much reliance could be placed on the troops.

The hour for the opening of the Parliament was about noon. And it was not till that time that a crowd began to gather in the vicinity of the Chamber,

in the Piazza della Cancelleria, which gradually filled the outer hall, and the public galleries of the House. There was a battalion of the Civic Guard drawn up in the Piazza. In the outer hall and the Chamber itself, there was no guard beyond the usual attendants. But a considerable number of the corps, formed, as has been explained, of the bad characters of the regiment which had capitulated at Vicenza, and had been sent into the Legations in September, in their old uniforms, armed with daggers, and with the medals on their breasts with which the municipality had decorated them (!), were collected in the entrance hall. These men stood shoulder to shoulder, and formed a double line from the door to the foot of the stair. "Terrible faces," says Farini, "were to be seen among them, and bitter imprecations were on their lips."

It was nearly half-past one when it became known that Rossi's carriage was at hand, coming from the Quirinal. While there, he received a last warning from the head of the police, who had hurried thither to tell him that it was evident that some violence was about to be attempted. He gave orders for the disposition of all the *Carabinieri* at such points as he thought most required them for the general preserva-

tion of order; then saying to the police agent, "There is no help for it! Go I must!" he took General Righetti, his principal assistant in the finance department, in the carriage with him, and went to the Parliament House. Descending from his carriage, he was walking briskly, as was his wont, across the outer hall, when the lines of the patriot soldiers closed on him, separating him from Righetti, and crying, "Down with him!" "Death to Rossi!" "Kill him! Kill him!" It was one Santo Costantini whose hand struck the blow—a well-aimed one, for it severed the carotid artery. He fell, uttering the one word "Assassins!" and his body was carried by Righetti and his servant into the rooms of Cardinal Gazzoli, who resided on the first floor of the palace, where he expired almost immediately.

The murderers, seeing that their work was accomplished, cried "The job is done! The job is done! Away! Away!" and they separated; no man of the immediately surrounding crowd, of the soldiers in the piazza, or of the police agents at the doors, attempting to stop them!

A fouler murder was never done! one so disgraceful to the community in the midst of which it was committed, rarely! And yet—so capricious is For-

tune !—the Chamber of Italian Deputies, which voted in 1877 that a deputation of its members should be sent to Milan to do honour to a ceremonial in commemoration of the murderers, who were executed in that city in 1853 for traitorously stabbing Austrian soldiers in the streets, has not yet similarly done honour to the memory of the equally patriotic murderers of Pellegrino Rossi ! Something, however, has been done by a grateful country. For there is an inscribed stone on a house in the Ripetta to mark it out to an admiring posterity as the residence of Ciceruacchio.

That same evening there were "fraternisations" between the leaders of the assassin party and the troops in different parts of the city. Bands went through the streets screaming "Hurrah for the second Brutus!" to which cries for "*A third Brutus*" responded. "Blessed be the hand that stabbed Rossi !" "Hurrah for the Carabineers !" "Death to the priests !" were the cries that filled the streets.

There must have been scared faces and sinking hearts in the council hall of the Quirinal that night ! What was to be done ? What could have been done had Pius the Ninth possessed all the wisdom of all his predecessors, with any hope of good result ? All

the surviving Ministers who were in Rome gave in their resignations to the Pontiff that same night. For the moment Montanari, who had held the portfolio of commerce, was induced to assume the functions of Minister of the Interior and Finance. The Holy Father despatched a messenger to General Zucchi, the War Minister, who was at Bologna, to require his immediate return, and ordered that the Swiss Colonel Lentulus should act as his *locum-tenens* till he could arrive. And Minghetti and Pasolini were charged to form a new Ministry. Both of them must have been perfectly aware of the hopelessness of the task!

CHAPTER X.

MONSTER MEETING ON THE PIAZZA DEL POPOLO.—COUNCIL AT THE QUIRINAL.—CAPTAIN OF SWISS GUARD REFUSES TO FIRE ON THE PEOPLE.—PEOPLE REFUSE A MINGHETTI AND PASOLINI MINISTRY.—FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES AT THE QUIRINAL.—APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE DRAWN UP BY THE POPE.—INSURGENTS MARCH TO THE QUIRINAL.—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.—MURDER OF MONSIGNORE PALMA.—CARABINIERI TAKE PART WITH THE MOB.—SUGGESTION OF MONSIGNORE PENTINI.—DISPERSION OF THE RIOTERS, CALMED BY PENTINI'S PROMISE.—ROSMINI AND MAMIANI MINISTERS.—POPE MEDITATES QUITTING ROME.—ANECDOTE OF A PRESENT FROM THE BISHOP OF VALENCE.—DETAILS OF THE PONTIFF'S FLIGHT FROM ROME.

WHILE these hopeless consultations were being held at the Quirinal, the patriots of the Popular Club were settling *their* programme for the morrow. A Ministry, of whom Sterbini was to be one, was arranged, and a monster assembly fixed for the morrow on the Piazza del Popolo, at which the troops were to be invited to fraternise with the

people. The principle of Italian nationality and the convocation of a constituent assembly were to be the leading objects of the new Ministry.

The Pontiff, informed of what was passing, and of what was being prepared, summoned to him at the Quirinal, on the morning of the 16th, the Presidents of the two Chambers, the Senator of Rome, and the Commander of the Civic Guard. The first thing to be done was to ascertain what resources of physical force the Government could still count on. The first consideration that met the little assembly was the fact that the Civic Guard was henceforward without a commander—Prince Aldobrandini resigned his command. The Pope offered the position to a Colonel Gallieno—a Liberal, we are told, but an honourable man—but he also declined the perilous task. As for the troops of the papal army, it was known that they were in nowise to be depended upon; and Lentulus, the Swiss colonel, who was acting as Minister of War till General Zucchi, sent for from Bologna, could arrive, declared that he would in no case order the soldiers to fire on the people. In a word, it became clear that the Pope was wholly powerless in the midst of a population the disposition and tendencies of which the events of

the previous day had sufficiently demonstrated. It was resolved to order the officers of the troops to go with their men to the meeting in the Piazza del Popolo "to prevent excesses" (!), to forbid the Civic Guard to take part in any demonstration, and to order all the officers "to behave themselves with their usual prudence."

It is impossible to record the details of such absolute helplessness without a sentiment of pity for the Pontiff, who had ascended the throne so short a time previously amid the enthusiastic applause of his subjects, and with unquestionably a sincere desire to ensure their welfare and happiness.

The next thing was the coming in of tidings that the sovereign people would not have Minghetti and Pasolini for Ministers, and the unhappy Pope was recommended to confide the formation of a Ministry —one cannot write the words without a sense of the irony of the recommendation—to one Galletti, a Liberal of the Liberals. Pius did so, telling him that he should expect his proposals that evening. In the meantime he called to him the representatives of all the foreign Powers accredited to the Vatican. There came D'Harcourt, for France, Martinez de la Rosa for Spain, Liedekerk for the Netherlands, De

Migueis for Portugal, Spaur for Bavaria, Boutenieff for Russia, Pareto for Piedmont, Figueredo for Brazil, De Meester for Belgium, and Caunitz for Prussia. The Minister for Naples, by some accident, did not receive the Pope's invitation in time.

While waiting for the arrival of the diplomatic body, Pius drew up and sent to the *Gazette* the following appeal, which must be given *in extenso* because it is his own composition, and is characteristic of the man. It will be observed that the construction of the first sentence is not quite perfect. The agitation in which the document must have been composed would suffice to excuse a greater error.

"If we have loved, and love our subjects, as our conscience in the sight of God and in the sight of the world bears witness, the solicitude with which, from the first instant we were called by the Divine Providence to this sublime dignity so full of toil and danger, all our thoughts were turned to ameliorate the condition of our subjects, and to confirm them in their ancient affection to the Government of the Church by means of the goodness of institutions adapted to the times. We granted, before we were asked, all that appeared to us to be useful and good. We granted, as soon as asked, of that which many

desired, all that appeared to us possible and right. But when the impatience of desire will not await the legitimate fruit of institutions but recently received with so much joy, and our subjects proceed to demand things which our conscience judges to be incompatible with the rights of that sovereignty of which we are depositories in the name of the Church, and with the welfare of our people, which cannot exist in conjunction with the disturbance of public order, then the necessity of duty imposes firmness of denial. And if it is wished to subject us to violence at the cost of crime, we shall bitterly deplore the shame to which the wickedness of a few exposes a good and generous population; but we are ready with humility of heart to suffer anything rather than bend our will to that to which we cannot and ought not to consent. On the contrary, with a firm voice we fulfil the obligation of the ministry which God has entrusted to us, to preach justice to all men in the midst of the drunkenness or the terror of the passions. We remember that above all peoples and above all princes there is the judgment of the Most High God, before whose tribunal there is no crime that does not contain within itself the seed of its own punishment. And in that mercy which is ever on

the watch by the side of justice, we trust that this our voice may be heard, to the cessation of tumultuous and disorderly movements and excited agitations, and that peace and concord may shine forth over this city to which God has given so many pledges of His clemency."

There is something almost pathetic in the entertainment by the Pope of the notion that there was a possibility that such an appeal as this could be of any avail towards mitigating the evils of the situation.

In fact, the address was never published; for, while it was being printed, events marched so quickly as to overrun it. On the morning of that 16th of November a large crowd assembled on the Piazza del Popolo. There were many among them in the uniform of the Guardia Civica. There were also several Carabineers and soldiers of the Line, who had accepted the invitation of those who must now be called insurgents to join them. There were also several officers, who are stated to have been present "for the purpose of preventing excesses!" About mid-day the crowd proceeded to the Palazzo della Cancelleria, which was the place where the Deputies assembled. The sitting had not yet commenced, and

there were a few Deputies only in the building. Among them was Sterbini, who, showing himself at a window, told the populace that "they must go to the Quirinal to obtain what they wanted—that the Pope would grant all they asked for; or that if he did not, now that they had begun, they must make an end of the matter!"

The crowd, increased by another got together by Prince Canino, with which it fell in by the way, proceeded towards the Quirinal. In the Via della Tre Cannelle they met Galletti, to whom the Pope had entrusted the formation of a Ministry, coming from the palace. They constrained him to return with them, for the purpose of presenting their demands to the Holy Father. He entered the palace for this purpose, and presently came out on to the piazza with the announcement that he was charged to form a Ministry.

The leaders of the populace, not contenting themselves with this, declared they would have a direct answer to their demands, and that on the spot; and they insisted on his returning into the palace with that demand. But at this the Pontiff became very indignant, and would make no concession. Galletti returned to the balcony overlooking

the piazza, and told the people that the Pope would yield nothing under compulsion.

At that announcement a great cry arose: "To arms! To arms! Hurrah for the Republic!" The Civic Guards and the Carabineers and the soldiers ran to get their firearms, and quickly came back to the Quirinal, some of them crying out for blood and slaughter. A cannon was brought and placed in front of the door of the palace. Barricades were formed at the openings of the neighbouring streets. At about five o'clock in the afternoon Sterbini, Prince Canino, and some half dozen other obscure men, went to the Circolo and there formed themselves into a "provisional government." Ciceruacchio and others remained at the Quirinal to direct the operations of the insurgents there.

In the meantime others of the crowd set fire to the lateral door of the palace in the Via Quirinale. Two Swiss guards who were at that gate fired on the rioters, and one man was wounded in the foot. The men of the fire-brigade came running up, and the fire, barely lighted up, was extinguished.

Others of the rioters began firing isolated shots at the windows of the palace, by one of which Monsignore Palma, the Pope's secretary for Latin letters,

was killed in his apartment. Some balls reached the Pope's own ante-chamber. Finding themselves thus attacked, the inmates of the palace despatched messengers in all haste to General Zamboni, entreating him to bring troops with all speed for the defence of the Holy Father. But the message seems never to have reached him till the following day. A summons to the *Carabinieri* was also despatched for the same purpose; and a company of these men marched to the palace. But they took up a position with their faces turned towards the palace, and not towards the mob besieging it, in such sort that those within thought that their intention was to take part with the rioters—as no doubt it was. On their assuming this attitude the captain of them, together with another officer, entered the Quirinal, and made their way to the Pontiff's presence, intimating to him the necessity of yielding to the popular demands. They found the Pope surrounded by the members of the diplomatic body, and the Spanish Minister sharply reproved them for their conduct.

The captain of the Swiss Guards was then asked if he could undertake to defend the palace. He replied that he had no means by which the insurgents could be prevented from entering the gates—that

he and his men would be forced back to the great staircase, and that the rioters would have no difficulty in passing over their dead bodies into the Pope's apartments. In this conjuncture it was suggested to the Pope by Monsignore Pentini, who was holding provisionally the office of Minister of the Interior, that the people might be told that the men they desired should be appointed to the Ministry, and that all the other things they asked should be decided on by the Chamber. Some of the leaders of the insurgents at this moment came into the palace, with the intimation that if a satisfactory answer were not given within a quarter of an hour the cannon should fire on the palace. On this being communicated to the Pontiff, he signed the paper prepared by Pentini to the above-mentioned effect, protesting that he acted under the compulsion of violence, and that all that he did was null and void; and just within the quarter of an hour named the paper signed was shown to the people, who, with shouts of rejoicing and firing off their muskets, dispersed about eight in the evening. Then, as all seemed quiet, the representatives of the various Powers returned to their residences.

While the Quirinal was thus besieged, a part of

the crowd had succeeded in forcing their way into the neighbouring Palazzo della Consulta, where Lambruschini lived. He had, however, found the means of escaping—hid himself in a hay-loft, and at night made his way into the adjoining convent of Carthusians; whence he escaped on the following day, and with a passport in a false name reached the Neapolitan territory.

The next morning, the 17th, the insurgents returned to the Quirinal, with the intention of disarming the Swiss Guard. But their design having become known at the palace, the Pope ordered them to hand over all the posts to be held by the Civic Guard. On this return of the rioters the body of foreign representatives again came to the Quirinal; and the Pope in their presence formally declared that he was under constraint, that he took no part in any governmental act, and that everything done in his name was null and void.

A Ministry had in the meantime been named, of whom the only men whose names are in any degree known were Rosmini and Mamiani. The latter was absent from Rome; and Rosmini on the 17th gave in his resignation, stating that he could see no hope of being of any use, and that in conscience he could

not make part of a Ministry named by a Pope under constraint. The other Ministers drew up a lengthy programme, with which they waited on the Pontiff. He received them with all courtesy on the morning of the 19th, but absolutely declined to speak with them about any business or affairs of Government.

Pius had already on the 16th mentioned to the representatives of the Powers accredited to him his idea of leaving Rome. Nor can he, I think, be in any degree blamed for having come to such a resolution. He was as absolutely powerless as if he had stood, in fact, isolated in the streets of Rome. He was entirely determined not to lend the authority of his name and his position to any further—or, at all events, to any unregulated and forced—advance of revolutionary hopes and doctrines. Nor can he, as it seems to me, be blamed either for this determination. It had by that time become abundantly clear that the purposes and wishes of that portion of his subjects who had the command of physical power in their hands were absolutely and fundamentally incompatible with the existence of a Pope-king at all events, if not with that of any king at all. To an Englishman watching the progress of events on the spot, this might have been evident with very suffi-

cient certainty at a much earlier period. But it can hardly be a matter either of surprise or of blame that it should not have been so to Giovanni Mastai. Bribed by his vanity and craving love for flattery, fooled by the partly false, and wholly silly, unmeaning and fickle applause of his subjects, and not wholly and perfectly sincere himself, he had yet unquestionably ascended his throne with philanthropic purposes and beneficent intentions. And now the people whose affections, or rather perhaps whose applause, he had so eagerly desired, and whose welfare he had so truly striven to secure, insisted, while clearly showing how utterly valueless their professions of affection had been, on rushing forward in a path which he genuinely believed would lead them to their own ruin, and which he knew with all the unerring certainty of instinct would abolish him and all that he felt it to be his most sacred duty to preserve.

What remained for him but to quit a position in which he was absolutely powerless to do aught that he thought ought to be done, and in which his presence might be interpreted as sanctioning what he was most eagerly anxious to prevent from being accomplished?

It chanced that on the morning of the 19th a

present from the Bishop of Valence in Dauphiné reached the Pontiff. It was a locket which Pius the Sixth had worn on his person, containing in it a portion of the consecrated Host, when he was carried away from Rome into France. The Bishop who sent it to him, writing on the 15th, said that Pius the Ninth, "the heir to his great predecessor's virtues, courage, and perhaps to his tribulations, might attach some value to this small but important relic, which I trust may not be destined to be used on a similar occasion. Yet to whom has it been given to discover the hidden designs of God?" The receipt of this opportune present finally determined Pius the Ninth to quit Rome. The fact that such was the case is much to his credit. For it tends in a remarkable manner to indicate that various more important acts in his subsequent career must be attributed to the sincere convictions of a mind saturated with superstitions of the most grovelling order, rather than to the promptings of any conscious hypocrisy.

The Pontiff's first intention was to go to France. But he subsequently changed his mind in favour of the Balearic Islands. He asked the Duc d'Harcourt, Minister of France, Martinez della Rosa, Minister of Spain, and the Count Spaur, Minister of

Bavaria, to come to him; and with their assistance and advice arranged to leave Rome secretly on the evening of the 24th of November. The plan was that he should go first to Gaeta, and there await a Spanish ship, which should take him to Majorca.

Meantime almost all the Cardinals left Rome, the greater number of them finding a refuge on the territory of Naples.

On the evening of the 24th, at about five o'clock, the ordinary hour of audience, the French Minister went to the Quirinal, purposing to remain in the Pope's apartment till he should have left the palace. Pius in the meantime divested himself of his papal robes, put on the habit of a simple priest, with a large broad-brimmed hat, and carefully hung around his neck Pius the Sixth's locket, taking care that there should be within it a morsel of the consecrated wafer. Then, accompanied only by his private seneschal, Benedetto Filippani, he passed by an upper passage of the huge palace, ordinarily used only by the domestics, to a small winding stair which comes down from it into the courtyard called the Court of the Swiss. There the carriage of Filippani, which was wont to leave the palace at that hour, awaited him; he got in, and was driven through the great gateway

into the street without inquiry or accident. The coachman had previously received orders to drive home—*i.e.* to the Piazza di Ara Cœli where Filippani lived. Arrived there, he was told to drive by the Piazza Trajana, the Colisseum and the Via Labicana and to stop in front of the Church of Sts. Peter and Marcellinus—a remote and little-frequented spot. There his Holiness left the carriage of Filippani and entered that of Count Spaur, the Minister of Bavaria, which was waiting for him, with the Minister in it. Thus he passed out of the gate leading to the Appian Way, and quickly left behind him the city in which less than thirty months previously he had received the tribute of universal applause, and the professions of universal affection and devotion.

BOOK III.

FROM THE FLIGHT TO GAETA, ON THE 24TH NOVEMBER, 1848, TO HIS FIRST "NON POSSUMUS," ON THE 8TH JANUARY, 1860.

CHAPTER I.

THE JOURNEY TO GAETA.—POPE'S LETTER TO THE MARCHESE VACCHETTI.—ASPECT OF THE CITY AFTER THE POPE'S DEPARTURE.—MAMIANI.—CANINO.—FRENCH INVITATION TO THE POPE.—FERDINAND OF NAPLES AT GAETA.—PIUS ATTEMPTS TO CARRY ON THE GOVERNMENT FROM GAETA.—HIS PROTEST.—COMMISSION NAMED BY HIM.—ITS IMPOTENCE.—RESIGNATION OF THE MINISTRY.—THE POPE MAKES NO REPLY.—DISCUSSION IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.—COMMISSION SENT TO GAETA BY THE DEPUTIES.—NOT ALLOWED TO PASS THE NEAPOLITAN FRONTIER.—PROGRESS TOWARDS ANARCHY IN ROME.—CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DETERMINED ON.—SECOND PROTEST BY THE POPE.—HIS CIRCULAR TO THE SOVEREIGNS.—REPLY OF CARLO ALBERTO.—ANSWER OF PIUS.

THE carriage of the Bavarian Minister, in which Pius quitted the city, was not adapted for the journey the Pontiff proposed to make. He travelled in it only as far as Aricia—the first stage of Horace's journey to Brundusium—and there quitting it, went to a spot close to a fountain in a dark valley near Galloro, where he found a carriage waiting for him, which

had been prepared for the journey in Albano, a mile or two on the Roman side of Aricia. In this carriage was the Countess Teresa Spaur, the Bavarian Minister's wife, her son, and her son's tutor, the Jesuit Liebl. Count Spaur, from his long residence in Rome, and from having married an Italian wife, had become well-nigh an Italian. He was a man of narrow and illiberal turn of mind, to whom the insurrection, and all the liberalising movement leading up to it, were utterly and equally odious. His Countess had been a noted and much admired beauty, and was just beginning to seek in a sentimental and poetical sort of devotion the amusement and excitement which admiration was now failing to afford her. She desired nothing better than to second her husband in the business he was that night engaged on. With these companions the Pope took his place in the fourth seat, while the Minister, Count Spaur, got on the box. Thus travelling, they reached the Neapolitan frontier at six in the morning, whereupon the Pontiff "immediately intoned the Ambrosian Hymn," a circumstance which would seem to indicate that he had felt the chances of his escape to be critical, and the danger attending the enterprise not altogether insignificant.

On arriving at Mola di Gaeta, he found there Cardinal Antonelli in secular attire, together with Signor Arnau, the Secretary of the Spanish Legation, who had travelled with him thither. There Pius rested a few hours in a small inn called "Il Cicerone," and that same evening went on to Gaeta, where, still preserving his incognito and his disguise, he took up his abode at the sole little poorly-furnished hotel of the place.

On leaving Rome, the Pope had left a letter addressed to the Marchese Sacchetti, the principal steward of his household, couched in the following terms:

"MARCHESE SACCHETTI,—We trust to your known prudence and integrity to inform the Minister Galletti of our departure, enjoining on him, and on all the other Ministers, to protect not so much the palaces as those who are employed in connection with them, and yourself, who were all entirely ignorant of our determination; for, while we have much at heart the safety of yourself and of the persons in our employment, since we deem that all of them were ignorant of our intention, we are yet more concerned to recommend to the gentlemen in question the tranquillity and order of the entire city."

This letter was published by Galletti on the morning of the 25th, and copies of it were sent to the foreign ambassadors. At the same time he published a declaration addressed to the Romans, in which he said that "the Pope had left Rome, persuaded by evil counsels," and appealed to the population to abstain from all agitation and excesses.

The aspect of the city on that morning of the 25th of November, 1848, was not a cheerful or jubilant one. An observer might have thought that the people were alarmed and uneasy at the success of their own work! Mamiani, returned to Rome, was, after many refusals, persuaded to enter the popularly-appointed Cabinet as Minister for Foreign Affairs, from consideration of the extreme needs of the State, and of the dangers of the moment. At the first meeting of the Chamber, Canino, ever, like the stormy petrel, busiest in time of tempest, and eager to increase the perils of the situation, demanded the immediate convocation of an Italian Constituent Assembly. Mamiani replied, seeking to throw oil on the troubled waters, and declaring that the object to which his efforts tended was a confederation of the Italian States. Canino again rose, stigmatising so bastard a conception, and insisting upon the imme-

diate calling of a Constituent Assembly by universal suffrage—the ever-ready nostrum of the demagogue, who aims at the despotism which is the unfailing complement of his ideal. The programme of Mamiani was voted, however, unanimously, with the exception of the sole vote of Canino—thus frustrated by the practical sense of the Italians in his scarcely-to-be-mistaken hopes of riding the whirlwind he was so anxious to evoke!

Mamiani proposed to the Principe della Cisterna, then at Paris, and to Carlo Pepoli, then at London, to become the representatives of the Roman Government at those Courts. Both declined. He then employed the advocate Filippo Canuti in a similar capacity; but neither of the Governments named were at all disposed to enter into relations which implied the recognition of the existing Roman Government. France, indeed, on the contrary, feeling, as ever, that Italy's misfortune was her opportunity, hastened, in the person of General Cavaignac, then the Chief of the Executive Power, to prepare an expedition to succour the Pope. Three thousand five hundred men were embarked on board of four steamships, with De Courcelles as Ambassador Extraordinary. The immediate object of the mission

was to induce the Pope to take refuge in France. The expedition arrived off Civita Vecchia on the 4th of December, to find the Pope no longer in Rome, and its mission being thus forestalled, returned—not, however, without a vehement protest on the part of the Roman Ministry, in the face of Europe, against this unwarranted intervention of France.

De Courcelles personally proceeded to Gaeta, thinking that it might still be possible to induce the Pope to place himself under the protection of France. Cavaignac also, by a letter addressed to the Holy Father on the 3rd of December, strove to induce him to take that step. But Pius, who, despite all that had occurred to put enmity between him and the Romans, had a strong feeling of Italian patriotism, and who, despite all that has come and gone, has it still (subject only to the provision that he is priest first, and Italian afterwards), could not be induced to take any such step.

Ferdinand the Second of Naples was not content with sending either message or messenger to the Pontiff. Immediately on hearing that Pius the Ninth had sought a refuge on his territory, he caused a great provision of all that might be needed for the Pontiff's personal comfort to be put on board three

steamers, and on the following morning he embarked himself, with all the royal family, and a company of Grenadiers, set sail, and at one in the afternoon arrived at Gaeta. Meeting Cardinal Antonelli on the Mole, it was arranged between them that the Pope should, while still keeping his disguise, pass from the hotel to the palace which the King possessed at Gaeta. There the King and all the royal family awaited him, and received him with all possible marks of respect and veneration.

Pius the Ninth attempted to carry on the government of his dominions from his refuge at Gaeta. On the 27th of November he put forth a document in which, after speaking bitterly of the ingratitude of those who had rebelled against him, and compelled him to place himself in a position which might lead the Catholic world to doubt whether he were a free agent, and rehearsing the facts that he had been subjected to "unheard-of and sacrilegious violence," and that he had verbally protested to that effect on "the fatal evening of the 16th of November, and again on the morning of the 17th, before the diplomatic body, which had surrounded him and done so much to comfort his heart," he again solemnly repeats the same protest—that is, "that, having been subjected

to violence, we declare all the acts resulting from that violence of no validity, and void of legal effect." "In the meantime," he proceeds, "having it at heart not to leave the government of our dominions without a head (*acefalo*) in Rome, we name a governing Commission, composed of the following members: The Cardinal Castracane, the Prelate Roberto Roberti, the Prince of Roviano, Prince Barberini, the Marchese Bevilacqua, the Marchese Ricci, and Lieutenant-General Zucchi." He concludes by desiring the fervid prayers of his subjects for "his humble person, and for the restoration of peace to the world, and especially to our dominions and to Rome, where our heart always is, whatever spot of Christ's fold we may temporarily inhabit. And we, foremost of all, as is the duty of our supreme priesthood, will most devoutly invoke the great Mother of Mercy and Immaculate Virgin, and the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to the end that, as we ardently desire, the indignation of Omnipotent God may be averted from the city of Rome and all the State."

A private autograph letter to Cardinal Castracane of the same date directs him to prorogue the Chambers of Parliament, not to be assembled again save by sovereign command. He tells the members

of the Commission that they are empowered to decide on all affairs of State, but that all appointments made by them are provisional, needing his confirmation when he should be restored to his State. In reply to a communication from the members of the Commission requesting further directions, Pius, on the 7th of December, after some instructions as to the matters which must be referred to him, and those which needed no such reference, tells them that they may select other persons to assist them, "always, however, to the exclusion of those composing the so-called Ministry forced on him on the 16th of November." He remarks that he had not placed the direction of foreign affairs under either of the persons named in the Commission, because he had entrusted that department to a Cardinal near him" (Antonelli).

When, on the 3rd of December, the above-quoted papal declaration of the 27th November was known publicly in Rome, the Ministry of the 16th November sent their resignations to the Pontiff at Gaeta; but he made no reply whatever, considering, probably, that to have done so might have been held to imply an admission that they *were* Ministers.

The Chamber of Deputies met on that same 3rd of

December, and after a long discussion came to a vote, that the papal rescript of the 27th of November had no character of authenticity, and even if it had had, was altogether unconstitutional, and therefore of no effect. It was decided also that the Ministry of the 16th of November should continue to hold their offices. Both Chambers voted addresses to the Holy Father, begging him to return to his dominions; and a Commission of Deputies was sent to carry these addresses to him at Gaeta. When however the Commissioners arrived in the night preceding the 6th of December at the Neapolitan frontier, an inspector of police intimated to them that he had received orders not to allow them to proceed. The addresses therefore were sent under cover to Cardinal Antonelli; who replied shortly that the declaration of the Holy Father, of the 27th of November, had declared the causes of his leaving Rome, and that it was painful to him to be obliged therefore to decline receiving persons who came with the special object of requesting his return.

Meantime, matters were rapidly advancing towards anarchy and a dissolution of civil society in Rome. As invariably happens in analogous circumstances, the better, the more educated, the more thoughtful, the

more responsible men withdrew from the attempt to direct the storm they had contributed to evoke. The power, such power as it was still possible to exercise, had fallen into the hands of those who were merely nominees, not even of the populace, but of the more turbulent and anarchical populace; and was rapidly falling into those of the populace themselves. The sorely-perplexed members of the Commission appointed, as has been seen, by Pius, quietly floating at rest in the back-water of Gaeta, finding themselves wholly powerless, wrote pressing letters to the Holy Father asking further "instructions" (!) and suggesting that a continuance in authority of those Ministers of the 16th of November might be, in a way, connived at, for fear of worse, since other authority there was none. Pius, however, was *intransigente* upon this point. It was his first *non possumus*. And in fact it mattered little. For the torrent soon swept past the Ministers in question; a triumvirate was formed—to become almost immediately a duumvirate by the resignation of Prince Corsini, one of its members; and the duumvirate in a proclamation, invoking the supreme safety of the State as a condonation for deficiency in formal legality, declared that a Constituent Assembly should at once

be called, elected by universal secret suffrage, *no judicial conviction against any individual to disqualify him from exercising it.*

It would be by no means without interest to trace the progress of the anarchy which succeeded in Rome to the Pope's departure. But it is necessary to withstand the tendency which an attempt to produce a succinct biography of Pius the Ninth has to encroach on the much more ambitious task of the historian of his "life and times;" if only from consideration of the space prescribed for the execution of the present work.

On the 17th of December, the Pope issued another long protest, rehearsing the efforts he had made to meet the wishes and ensure the well-being of his people, complaining of the ungrateful return he had met with, and declaring all acts done by the persons calling themselves a Government at Rome to be altogether null and void.

Though he had not yet, as it would seem, recognised the futility of any hope that he could return to Rome and resume his authority by means of any power of his own, or of any resipiscence on the part of his subjects, he had on the 4th of December addressed a circular to all the Sovereigns with whom

he was in amicable relations, informing them of the circumstances under which he had quitted Rome, and invoking their assistance. Carlo Alberto, King of Sardinia, sent an answer dated the 24th by the hands of the Bishop of Savona and the Marchese Montezemolo, inviting the Pope to come to Nice, or to any other place in his States which he might prefer, and observing that if the Holy Father should think it desirable to have recourse to armed assistance for securing his return to Rome, it would be preferable that he should seek such aid from an Italian rather than from any ultramontane power.

Pius, in return, offered to the King his grateful thanks; but said that having found a resting-place in the adjoining State of Naples, he thought it best not to separate himself from his subjects by a greater distance, till he should have lost all hope of a prompt return to his own dominions. With regard to the suggestions in the King's letter, the Pope replied that he had written to all the Sovereigns with whom he was in relation, invoking their help and their counsels, and that he must await their replies.

And so the year 1848 closed on the phenomenon once again presented to the world of an exiled Pope.

CHAPTER II.

PAPAL BRIEF OF THE FIRST DAY OF 1849.—RESPONSES OF THE POWERS TO THE PAPAL APPEAL.—ENVOY SENT BY GIOBERTI.—REPLY OF THE PAPAL GOVERNMENT.—VANITY OF GIOBERTI'S HOPES.—POSITION OF FRANCE.—LINE TAKEN BY THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT.—GOVERNMENTS OF SARDINIA, TUSCANY, AND NAPLES.—POLICY OF FRANCE.—ANTONELLI'S CIRCULAR NOTE OF THE 18TH OF FEBRUARY.—FEELING IN FRANCE AFTER THE BATTLE OF NOVARA.—POPE HOLDS A CONSISTORY ON THE 20TH OF APRIL.—OFFENCE TAKEN BY THE SARDINIAN GOVERNMENT.—CONSISTENCY OF AUSTRIA, AND INCONSISTENCY OF FRANCE.—ARRIVAL OF FRENCH TROOPS AT CIVITA VECCHIA ON THE 25TH OF APRIL, 1849.—DECLARATION BY GENERAL OUDINOT.—ROME DECIDES TO RESIST THE FRENCH TROOPS.—OUDINOT'S MARCH TO ROME.—FIRST ATTACK ON THE 30TH OF APRIL.—MAZZINI MISTAKES THE FEELING OF FRANCE.—POPE SENDS A GOVERNOR TO CIVITA VECCHIA.—FRENCH GOVERNMENT SEND M. LESSEPS TO ROME.—NEGOTIATIONS.—ATTACK OF THE 21ST OF JUNE.—FRENCH TROOPS ENTER ROME.

On the first day of the year, 1849, Pius published a Brief addressed to his subjects, and forbidding them to take any part whatever in the election of members

to serve in the proposed Constituent Assembly, warning them that this his prohibition was sanctioned by many decrees of his predecessors, and of councils, especially that of Trent, which fulminated the greater excommunication *ipso facto* against all who should be guilty of any attempt against the temporal power of the Roman Pontiffs.

It would seem that Pius at this time still entertained the hope that he would be able to return to Rome under the protection of his own troops, trusting especially for this hope to a couple of regiments of Swiss. All such expectations, however, turned out to be futile; and it was evident that the Pope's return depended on the replies to the applications he had made to the Catholic Powers.

The first of these which had come to hand, that of Sardinia, as told in the preceding chapter, had been very unacceptable to the Pope. And the steps by which the Piedmontese Government followed up that reply were yet more distasteful to him. Gioberti, who was then Minister for Foreign Affairs in the sub-Alpine kingdom, sent Count Enrico Martini as Envoy Extraordinary to the Holy Father; but sent him also to the Government established in Rome. It seems strange, and is a remarkable instance of

the facility with which everybody can see, when subsequent events have thrown their light upon the past, that which the wisest cannot see at the time, that Gioberti should have thought it possible that any good could have been accomplished by an envoy charged with this two-fold mission. Gioberti's instructions to his envoy were to the effect that he was to maintain "officious relations" with the *de facto* Government existing in Rome, and "official relations" with the Holy Father. The special objects of his mission were two-fold—the reconciliation of the Holy Father with the Roman people, and the speedy realisation of an Italian Confederation. At least, the most elementary knowledge of the situation might have counselled the Piedmontese envoy, if his mission were sincerely one of conciliation, to go first to Gaeta. But Count Martini did the reverse. He reached Rome on the 6th of January, remained there three days, during which he had several conferences with the men in power there, and *then* proceeded to Gaeta, and presented himself to Cardinal Antonelli on the 11th.

It was replied to his statement of his quality and his errand, that the Holy Father required some days of reflection before receiving him in the capacity of

envoy from the King of Sardinia. In the first place the usual courtesy of an inquiry as to the acceptability of a new ambassador had been neglected. It was also to be observed that the Piedmontese Government maintained officious relations with the Roman rebels—that it was an idea unworthy of the Government of the King to interpose as a mediator between the Holy Father and rebels—that it was intolerable that two laymen should be residing in Turin in the quality of Roman Legates; and, lastly, that the idea which the Piedmontese Government seemed to cherish of realising an Italian Constituent Assembly could come to no good.

Gioberti was much angered by this language. He wrote on the 16th of January to Martini, that since the Papal Government did not like the mediation offered, the King withdrew the offer. He instructed his envoy to insist energetically on being forthwith received, and to quit Gaeta at once if this was not accorded. These representations and the good offices of the French ambassador induced the Pope to receive Martini on the 23rd of January. The Sardinian envoy upon that occasion again spoke of mediation, and the Pope is said to have listened to his overtures favourably. Thereupon Gioberti, on

the 30th of the same month, wrote triumphantly to Mamiani, the President of the Provisional Roman Government, to move him to open negotiations with the Papal Government. He specially gives it as his opinion that the Constituent Assembly to be then forthwith opened should as its first act "recognise the constitutional rights of the Holy Father."

The higher vantage-ground which we now occupy for the judging these events and the actors in them must in fairness not be overlooked, as I mentioned before. But with all allowance for this, it does seem to afford a striking illustration of that tendency to roseate hallucinations, which inspired Gioberti's book on the "Primato d' Italia," that it should have been possible for him to hope that any such basis of accord could be found. There was not the smallest chance that either party should yield any of the really important points on which their views differed. The Sardinian Minister ought to have known that, even if the phrase "constitutional rights of the Holy Father" had not involved, as it does emphatically involve, a contradiction in terms, the men composing the Constituent Assembly were by no means disposed to accord any such rights to any sovereign, lay or clerical. This, however, was a point upon which

it was more easy for him to have been mistaken than it should have been for him to misunderstand so fundamentally the other side of that insoluble equation which he was bent on adjusting. If the Pope seemed to listen to Martini favourably when he spoke of mediation between the Apostolic See and the men who had usurped the Pontiff's authority in Rome, it was solely because it is the nature of the man to be affable, and to prefer checkmating an adversary behind his back to contradicting his assertions and scouting his arguments to his face. Antonelli had given him the truer aspect of the papal policy. "Sint ut sunt!" If a man should limit his view to the primitive ages of the Church, and evolve his notion of an ideal Pontiff from the theories which have their roots in the history of those centuries, he might well conceive the idea of a Pope who should exercise temporal power within the bounds of a constitution and of responsibility to the body of the Faithful. It is possible also—a more important consideration—to combine papal pretensions and purposes, such as the history of the Roman Church has made them, with the forms and phantoms of democracy, even as Cæsarism may be combined with them. But that the heir of the Gregories,

the Innocents, the Alexanders, and the Clements should become a constitutional sovereign Pope is surely a wilder vision than any Utopia ever harboured !

Looking merely as a politician, however, at the then condition of Europe generally, it seems to have been a very vain imagination to suppose that the issue from the present state of things at Rome would be allowed, by those powers of Europe which wielded large amounts of physical force, to be arranged by means of measures concerted between the Sardinian Government—especially in the hands of such a man as Gioberti—and the Roman Republicans. It is true that the situation was in some degree complicated, and hopes and illusions in some degree rendered possible by the anomalous condition of France. The Romans wanted to have a republic. And France was a republic, while Sardinia was a monarchy. And it was not clearly understood till subsequently that while Sardinia was a monarchy with a king and ministers desirous of Italian amelioration, progress, and freedom, France was a republic with a chief who desired none of these things at all, and citizens who, with the exception of a very small and powerless party, by no means desired them for Italy.

The Spanish Government responded to the application of the Holy Father by addressing, on the 21st of December, 1848, a circular note to those of Austria, France, Bavaria, Sardinia, Tuscany, and Naples, inviting them to nominate plenipotentiaries to a conference for the determination of the means of re-establishing the Head of the Church in that state of liberty, independence, dignity and authority absolutely necessary to the exercise of his sacred functions, at the same time indicating the place which the Governments addressed might consider fittest for the holding of such a conference. The Spanish Government, "to save time," expressed its opinion that Madrid, or some other Spanish town, was the best place for the purpose. Pius, on the purport of this circular being communicated to him, expressed his opinion to the effect that it would be better to hold the proposed conference in the place where he was. Sardinia and Tuscany thought the conference a very proper thing, but protested against calling any foreign soldiers into Italy. Naples approved of the Spanish suggestion, but agreed with the Holy Father as to the place at which such a conference should be held, offering Naples for the purpose. Ferdinand the Second also charged his

representatives at London, Petersburg, and Berlin to propose to those Governments to take part in the conference. England replied that the Pope had not applied to her on the subject, and till he did she could not say what line she might take under such circumstances. Prussia said that if the other Powers agreed to such a conference, she would agree. Russia refused to have anything to say to the matter.

All this, however, signified little or nothing. The question was what Austria and France would say and do in the matter. The course of Austria was abundantly clear, and might have been predicted with certainty, save in so far as her wishes and line of conduct might be modified by the action of France. Austria simply wished to keep all quiet and perpetuate the *status quo* in Italy, and was perfectly ready to restore the Pope to his throne and keep him there by Austrian bayonets.

The position of France at Gaeta was difficult. Her representatives were looked askance at, her motives suspected by every one of those assembled there. France was a republic, having recently become such, and suspected of republican propagandism. The chief of the State was one who had been once on a time—in 1830—expelled from Rome

as a conspirator, and who in the following year had been in arms against the papal troops. He had also quite recently been opposed to the expedition sent by Cavaignac to Civita Vecchia. Notwithstanding all this it was impossible for the Pontiff and his supporters to shape their conduct without reference to France; and the attempt to do so would have at once produced dissension between France and Austria.

On the 18th of February, Cardinal Antonelli addressed a circular note to the representatives of the Powers accredited to the Holy See, in which, after referring to the Pope's request for the intervention of the Powers, dated on the 4th of the preceding December, he goes on to point out that the decree "calling itself fundamental," which had been put forth on the 9th of February by the Constituent Assembly at Rome, had "neglected no means of reaching the culminating point of wickedness," and "was overflowing with the blackest felony and the most abominable impiety," in such sort that the Holy Father, seeing his supreme dignity both as Sovereign and as Pontiff thus set at nought, "protests in the face of all potentates, and all nations, and of every individual Catholic man in all the world, against this excess of irreligion, against so violent an

attempt at spoliation of his imprescriptible and sacred rights, declaring that if prompt remedies be not adopted, help would arrive when the states of the Church, now in the power of his most bitter enemies, were altogether reduced to ashes." The Holy Father therefore again appeals for moral help to all men, nations and Powers. "And in as much as Austria, France, Spain, and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies are by reason of their geographic position in a situation to be able to come readily with their arms to re-establish order in the dominions of the Holy See, the Holy Father for that reason and in the religious interest of those Powers, the daughters of the Church, demands with full confidence their armed intervention for the liberation of the Apostolic State from that band of evil men, who with every sort of abomination are exercising there the most atrocious despotism." He concludes by urging that "the Powers above mentioned should delay not a moment in affording the assistance demanded of them, rendering themselves thus well-deserving of the cause of public order and of religion."

France had already begun to feel jealous of the power and influence of Austria after the battle of

Novara; and on the 31st of March the Assembly of the Republic voted an address, declaring that, "if for the purpose of securing the interest and honour of France, the executive power should think fit to support its negotiations by means of a partial and temporary occupation of any whatsoever point of Italian territory, such a measure would meet with the most sincere and entire adhesion on the part of the Assembly." And on the 16th of April the Minister of War asked for the supplies needed for the expense of the proposed expedition. On that occasion the President of the Council, in making the proposal to the Chamber, said: "Austria pursues the consequences of her victory. . . . France cannot remain indifferent. The protection of our subjects, care for the maintenance of our influence in Italy, and the desire to contribute to the obtaining of good government for the Roman population, all combine to make it our duty to avail ourselves of the power you have given us." Of course the second of the three reasons here adduced was the true and the prevailing one, and the key-note of the motives of the French policy was struck at the outset of the President's speech, when he declared that Austria was pursuing the consequences of her victory.

On the 20th of April Pius announced, in a Consistory held that day, the motives that had led him to ask for the armed intervention of the four Powers which have been named. Austria was applied to as "our neighbour on the north, who has never failed to lend her aid in defence of the temporal dominion of the Apostolic See." A similar invitation had been addressed to France, "towards which nation we feel a singular affection and kindness, in that the clergy and the faithful of that nation strove in every way to comfort and mitigate our bitterness and troubles by the most abounding demonstrations of filial devotion and affection." Spain was appealed to because she had been the first to propose a filial alliance between the Catholic Powers for the restoration to his throne of the common Father of the Faithful and supreme Pastor of the Church. Finally, similar assistance was asked from Naples, in the dominions of which "we are the guest of a King, who, occupying himself to the utmost of his power in promoting the true and valid felicity of his people, so shines with religion and piety as to serve for an example to his subjects himself."

It is singular that the Pope should have judged it necessary or expedient to make such statements as

the above, well knowing them to be in most direct and flagrant contradiction with the truth.

The Sardinian Government was much offended at having been passed over unnoticed in the invitation thus addressed by the Pontiff to other Powers. And Gioberti addressed bitter remonstrances to Antonelli on the subject. But very shortly afterward he left the Ministry, and his successor, General Chiodo, addressed new remonstrances to Antonelli against the entry of foreign troops into Italy. It was in truth much better for the Piedmontese Government not to have been invited to take any part in the armed intervention for the restoration of the papal power. And it would have been supposed that as much might have been perceived by a statesman sufficiently farsighted to have foreseen the position with reference to the Italian people, into which the action of the Piedmontese State, already well determined on, was likely to bring that monarchy.

It very soon became clear that the replacing of the Pope on his throne would be left to the French, while the re-establishment of his authority in the Legations would fall to the share of Austria. But the position assumed by each of these two Powers was very widely different. Austria, in occupying

the Legations at the request of their recognised sovereign the Pope, was acting in accordance with her avowed, traditional, and sincerely maintained policy and principles. The French Republic, in sending an expedition to Rome to suppress by force the Roman Republic and compel the Romans to submit to the Papal Government, placed itself before the world in a position so false and so flagrantly in contradiction with its professions and principles, that it had to be propped and excused by an uninterrupted series of false pretences and diplomatic juggling. The sight of the soldiers of republican France in the streets of Rome compelling the Romans to submit to a very much worse government than that which the French themselves had rejected at the cost of revolution, and doing so professedly for the sake of French religion, was a singularly loathsome one, and grievously revolting and demoralising to the conscience of Europe!

So much diplomatic talk had to preface the putting into execution of the French intervention, that it was not till the 25th of April, 1849, that General Oudinot, to whom the conduct of the expedition was entrusted, disembarked his troops at Civita Vecchia. The Provisional Government at Rome sent a depu-

tation to Civita Vecchia to protest. Oudinot, in reply, said that "the only object of France was the maintenance of her influence in Italy; that the Pontifical States were menaced by an Austrian and Neapolitan intervention, and he was come to avoid that; further, that France had no desire to interfere with the free wishes of the Roman people." There was a greater degree of truth in this than could perhaps have been expected. The first assertion was absolutely true; the second partially so, in as much as France knew very well that the step she was taking could only have the effect of preventing the intervention of other Powers *at Rome*, and not as regarded the whole Pontifical State; and the last assertion of the French commander was wholly false.

On the 28th, Oudinot sent his aide-de-camp Leblanc to Rome, to announce to the Triumvirate Government that it was his intention to march on Rome, and he hoped to be received in a friendly manner. Mazzini, who was now one of the triumvirs at Rome, communicated this message to the Assembly, which decided that the Triumvirate should "save the Republic, and resist force by force." The populace received this decision with enthusiasm,

and with cries of "Death to the Priests!" "Hurrah for the Republic!"

It was finally decided, in spite of further attempts on the part of the French commander to induce the Romans to receive his troops as friends, and endeavours on the part of a portion of the citizens to cause such overtures to be accepted, that the city, hopeless as the effort seemed, should resist.

Oudinot moved from Civita Vecchia on the 28th of April, got to Palo that evening, and the following day to Castel Guido. On the morning of the 30th he advanced on Rome. But the French staff had on this, as on more important subsequent occasions, wholly neglected to provide themselves with any modern map of the country in which they were about to operate. They had an old map, which led them to suppose that the city could be entered by the Porta Pertusa (in the neighbourhood of the existing Porta Angelica), which would have been adapted to their purpose, but that it had been walled up for the last two centuries! This, and the fact that Oudinot had hoped that a mere demonstration would have sufficed to cause the opening of the city gates, caused the resistance of this first day to be successful. Oudinot retired after midnight to Castel

Guido, with the loss, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of about five hundred men. The Romans that night buried forty-two French corpses outside the Vatican wall.

During the skirmish of the 30th April, the cupola of St. Peter's and the Apostolic Palace were slightly injured by the fire of the French, and a couple of bullets pierced the tapestry in the Vatican, representing Raffaelle's Paul preaching at Athens. The Municipality of Rome caused a minute account of these injuries to be drawn up, and sent it to the Municipality of Paris!

Oudinot proposed an exchange of prisoners. The Romans determined on sending back their prisoners freely without bargaining for any exchange, Mazzini remarking that these prisoners would return to their comrades of the army of occupation as apostles, and that the Romans were by this act inviting the development of opinion in their favour among the French; that such a current of opinion was from day to day becoming more powerful in France, from which "we," that is, the Triumvirate Government, have good news. It is remarkable that Mazzini, whose means of information were ordinarily so good, and whose own appreciation of the currents of national

opinion was for the most part so shrewd and correct, should have fallen into such an error, if indeed he spoke on this occasion what he really thought. The whole current of French feeling and opinion, except among the members of the very small party which may be called that of the philosophical and intellectual Radicals, was strongly hostile to Italy generally, and especially to the rebellion against the Pope.

The President of the French Republic, on the other hand, wrote on the 5th of May, to Oudinot, that he was much grieved at the resistance which had repulsed the French troops; that he had hoped that the Romans would have opened their gates; that the honour of France was compromised; and that reinforcements should forthwith be sent.

In the meantime the Pope, as soon as he became aware of the occupation of Civita Vecchia by the French, sent a prelate thither as Governor. Oudinot, however, would not permit him to enter on any such functions. But the incident is worth mentioning only for the sake of some passages of the letter which Oudinot wrote, on the 4th of May, on the subject to the French Minister of War. "At Gaeta," he writes, "they are beyond all belief deluded as to the dispositions of the populations. I do not pretend to

say that these are favourable to the present state of things, which the despotism of the red banner imposes by means of a party composed of the anarchists of all countries. But the sympathies of the people for the late (*i.e.* the Papal) Government are far from being as warm as they are supposed to be. Pius the Ninth is beloved; but the people are averse to clerical government."

On the 8th of May the French Government determined to send Lesseps as a sort of diplomatic agent, *ad latus*, to Oudinot, with the mission to smooth matters, and, if possible, to persuade the Romans to open their gates to the French troops. His instructions were that the object of the French Government was to put an end to the anarchy which was devastating the States of the Church, and "to prevent the re-establishment of regular power from being made disastrous, and compromised as regards the future by a blind reaction." It was added, that "everything which, by being beforehand with the development of the intervention operated by other Powers animated by less moderate sentiments, shall have the effect of leaving a larger space to our particular and direct influence, will have the natural result of rendering the attainment of the object I have

indicated to you more easy." The envoy was at the same time warned that he must be especially cautious not to utter any word, or do anything which could have the effect of making the provisional Roman Government believe, or of enabling them to lead it to be believed, that they were in any sense or way recognised as a Government by France.

In the words textually quoted above, the true motive of the French expedition, and the real aim of it, are disclosed. And the proposals made by Lesseps and Oudinot in concert on the 16th of May, for the purpose of inducing the Romans to admit the French troops, the second article of which declares that "the Roman population has the right of freely pronouncing on the form of Government it prefers," can hardly have been sincere. Had the Roman Triumvirate imagined this to be so, it is hardly to be supposed that it would have rejected the proposal, as it did.

On the 29th of May, Oudinot, having received a sufficient reinforcement, and learning, moreover, that both the Austrian and Neapolitan troops were advancing into the States of the Church, insisted that Lesseps should send an ultimatum to the Triumvirate. This document, besides the ordinary professions of friendship, contained the undertaking that

the French, when admitted into the city, should in nowise meddle with the administration. And again it is to be remarked that this ultimatum would hardly have been rejected as it was, had the promises made in it been believed. And it would be difficult to persuade anybody that, had it been accepted, this promise would have been kept.

Lesseps, however, thought it possible to make one more attempt to come to a friendly understanding, and sent to the Triumvirate a modified ultimatum, the main point of difference in which was, that according to its provisions the French were to occupy and hold positions *outside* the walls. It was provided that "the communications were to be free." This proposal was at last agreed to by the triumvirs. But Oudinot was greatly angered with Lesseps for having made such a proposition, refused to be bound by it, and forthwith made a communication to the triumvirs to that effect. Subsequently the Lesseps proposal was disapproved also at Paris.

Meantime, the reinforcements that reached Oudinot before the end of May brought the forces under his command up to twenty thousand men, to be subsequently increased by the end of June to thirty thou-

sand. On the 1st of June Oudinot announced that he would defer his assault till the 4th, for the sake of giving any Frenchman in Rome an opportunity of leaving the city. On the 12th, the approaches having been prepared *secundum artem*, the French general was ready for the assault. But he sent one last message to the Roman Government, inviting them to spare him the necessity of inflicting on the city the horrors of an assault. His appeal was answered curtly in the negative.

On the morning of the 13th of June the attack began. On the evening of the 21st the breach was declared to be practicable, and in the course of the night three French columns succeeded in occupying a position within the walls.

The following morning the triumvirs put forth a proclamation in the following terms : "Romans, the enemy traitorously, and by the aid of the darkness of night, has placed his foot upon the breach. Rise, Rome ! Let the people rise in its omnipotence and scatter them ! Let the breach be closed with their corpses ! Whosoever touches the sacred soil of Rome in the guise of an enemy is cursed by God ! Rise to combat ! Rise to conquer ! This day let every man become a hero !"

The bells at Montecitorio and at the Capitol were rung as tocsins.

But the Romans, as we are very amusingly told by a contemporary and thoroughly trustworthy annalist,* considered these manifestations as signs that their leaders were afraid, received them with scoffings, and showed no tendency to rise or to become heroes! On the contrary, several leading citizens went to Mazzini to urge the inutility of further resistance. Still unwilling, however, to abandon all hope, he and Avezzana, the War Minister, hurried to the Palazzo Corsini, where Garibaldi was living, and urged him to lead volunteers to the instant attack of the French within the walls. Garibaldi hesitated awhile, and then refused to do so. It must be supposed that he sufficiently saw the attempt to be hopeless.

On the morning of the 30th of June the triumvirs announced to the people that the second line of defence was lost, and made a last effort to rouse the people to rise *en masse* in defence of the city. Perceiving it to be useless, however, Mazzini went to the Assembly, and said that there were three possible courses to choose between: to capitulate, to

* Coppi, "Annali d'Italia," vol. ii. p. 354.

continue to fight behind barricades in the streets, to abandon Rome—the Government and the army together—and go to the Romagna, there to fight against the Austrians. He added that he deemed the last the best! But the Assembly would accept none of these alternatives, and discovered a fourth! It declared that "it ceased from a resistance which was unavailing, and remained at its post!" This was reported to the French general, and orders for the suspension of hostilities were given by him on the evening of the 30th, and a deputation was sent to him to arrange for the regular entrance of the troops into the city. Oudinot laid down the following positions: "The French army shall enter Rome. It shall occupy the military position it deems expedient. All the communications with Rome, at present blockaded, shall be opened and shall be free. The arrangements for the defence of the city, having no longer any object, shall be removed, and free circulation shall be re-established." On these conditions being reported to the Assembly, that body wished to add to them a provision "securing individual liberty and property without distinction to all." To this Oudinot demurred, and said he must consult De Courcelles, who had been sent

to replace Lesseps, and who, on the morning of the 2nd of July, absolutely refused to accept such a clause. And the deputies were told that, if their proposals were not accepted by three o'clock that afternoon, orders would be given for the resumption of the attack. The Communal Council, however, absolutely refused to sign the agreement as proposed. They preferred to declare that they yielded to force, and that they appealed to the people to accept the foreign occupation with resignation.

This decision was at once communicated to Oudinot, and it was agreed that the gates should be given up to the French troops at ten in the evening of that day, the 2nd of July.

APPENDIX.

SEE PAGE 200.

THE following instructions, sent by Mazzini for the use of the young Italy party in Rome, in the autumn of 1846, are translated from the copy of the original, printed at page 120 of the first volume of the "Storia della Rivoluzione di Roma," by Giuseppe Spada. They may, however, be found in sundry other places.

TO THE FRIENDS OF ITALY.

The territorial divisions of Italy place difficulties in the way of her regeneration, which it will be necessary to conquer before any direct progress can be made. However, we must not lose courage. Every step towards *unity* will be a step in advance. And, without its having been foreseen, regeneration will be on the point of being completed when unity can be proclaimed.

THE MEANS.

I. PRINCES.

In great countries regeneration must be attained by means of the people; in your country by means of the princes. It is necessary absolutely to commit them to the enterprise. To do so is easy. The Pope will advance on the path of reform from principle and from necessity. The King of Piedmont from the hope of obtaining the crown of Italy. The Grand Duke of Tuscany from inclination and imitation. The King of Naples from force. And the smaller princes will have enough to think of besides the repressing of reform. Do not trouble yourselves about the part of the country occupied by the Austrians. It is

possible that reform, turning their flank, may cause them to advance more quickly than the others in the path of progress. A people to whom a constitution has given the right of demanding may speak in a lofty tone, and may at need command by means of insurrection. But a people still in slavery can but sing its needs, so that the expression of them may be heard without occasioning too much displeasure. Take advantage of the smallest concession to make an opportunity for bringing together masses of the people, if only in attestation of gratitude. Festivals, songs, agglomerations of people, numerous relationships established between men of every shade of opinion, suffice to cause the generation of ideas, to give the people the sentiment of its strength, and to render it exigent.

[It is impossible to avoid noticing the exactitude with which the directions here given correspond with the conduct of the people in the days following the proclamation of the amnesty. Mazzini was well served by the apostles of his gospel! And he himself was a consummate master of the business he took in hand.]

II. The Grandees.

The assistance of the grandees is an indispensable necessity for the increment of principles of reform in a feudal society. If you have only the people, misgivings will arise at the first step, and all will be lost. If the movement be led by some of the grandees these will serve as a passport to the people. Italy is still in the condition in which France was before the revolution. It has need of its Mirabeaus, its Lafayettes, and so many others. A great magnate may be held in check by his material interests; but he can be taken by his vanity. Few of them will be willing to go on to the end. The essential point is that the goal of the great revolution should be unknown to them. They must never be allowed to see farther than the first step to be taken.

III. The Clergy.

In Italy the clergy are rich in money, and in the faith of the people. For the sake of both these advantages it is desirable to

conciliate them, and to gain over the influence they possess. If you could in every capital create a Savonarola, we should advance with giant strides. The clergy is not inimical to liberal institutions. Seek therefore to associate it with you in this first effort, which must be considered as the obligatory vestibule of the temple of equality. Without the vestibule the sanctuary remains closed. Do not attack the clergy either in its fortune or in its orthodoxy. Promise it liberty, and you will see it in your ranks.

IV. The People.

In Italy the people is yet to be created; but it is ready to break the shell which still holds it in. Speak frequently, and much, and everywhere of its miseries and its needs. The people understand nothing as yet; but the busy portion of society becomes penetrated by these sentiments of compassion for the people, and sooner or later it becomes operative. Profound and learned discussions are neither necessary nor opportune. There are generating words which contain all in themselves, and which ought to be repeated frequently to the people: "*Liberty!*" "Rights of man!" "Progress!" "Equality!" "Fraternity!" This is what the people will comprehend, especially when to these words you oppose the words, "Despotism!" "Privilege!" "Tyranny!" "Slavery!" The difficult thing is, not the convincing of the people, but the getting them together. The day in which the people shall be assembled together will be the first of the new era.

V. All in General.

The stair of progress is long. Time and patience are needed to reach the top of it. The way to climb it quickly is to take one step at a time. To attempt to spring to the top is to expose our undertaking to many evils. Two thousand years ago, a great philosopher called Christ preached that fraternity, which is still a desideratum in the world. Receive therefore every aid that may be offered to you, never thinking it of small importance. The terrestrial globe is formed of grains of sand. Whoever is willing

to make one single step in the path of progress with you should be considered as one of your friends, until he leaves you. A king, suppose, gives a more liberal law. Applaud it, demanding at the same time that which logically ought to follow it! A minister indicates views of progress—hold him up as a model. A grand seigneur gives indications that he does not care for his privileges—put yourselves under his direction. If he wants to stop short you will always be in time to leave him, and he will remain isolated and without force against you. And you will have a thousand means of rendering unpopular those who have opposed themselves to your designs. All personal discontents, all illusions, all irritated ambitions may be made to serve the cause of progress if others know how to give them a good direction.

VI. Obstacles.

The army, which is always submissive by education, by organisation and by interest, is the greatest obstacle to the progress of socialism. There is the great assistance of despotism. It is necessary to paralyse the army by means of the general education of the people. When the public shall have understood that the army, which exists for the defence of the country, has no business to interfere in any way with the interior politics of the country, and owes respect to the public, then it will be possible to go forward without the army, or even against it, without risk. The clergy possesses only one half of the doctrine of socialism. It desires, as we do, fraternity, which it calls charity; but its government and its habitudes make it an aid to authority, that is to say, to despotism. What is needed is to take of it what it has of good, and to cut off the evil. Endeavour to make equality penetrate into the church, then all will go on. Clerical power is personified in the Jesuits. The odium which is attached to this name is a power on the side of the socialists. Remember this.

VII. The Means of Action.

Associate! associate! associate! Everything is in this one word. Secret societies confer an irresistible force on the party

which can avail itself of them. Do not be alarmed at seeing them divided. The more they divide themselves the more successful they will be. All tend to the same goal by different roads. The secret will be often violated; so much the better! Secrecy is necessary to give tranquillity to the minds of the members; and a certain degree of transparency of the secret is necessary to terrify the stationary. When a large number of associates, receiving the word of order to spread certain ideas, and to make public opinion to consist of them, shall be able to commence a concerted movement, they will find the old edifice riddled and honeycombed in all its parts, and ready to fall as by miracle at the first breath of progress. They will themselves be stricken with wonder to see kings, princes, the rich, the priests, which formed the old social edifice, flying before the sole power of opinion. Courage, then, and perseverance!

END OF VOL. I.


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